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News Paper Articles

Extracts from the "Mail"

1923

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Newspaper Article

Extract from the "FAIL"

for the year 1923

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<u>What not Tell.</u> 4 - 1 - 1923.

More remarkable for what he does not say than for what he does is Sir P.Theagaraya Chetty's defence of the Non-Brahmin Party's decision that the Ministers should remain in office. He asks us, after referring to the failure of Madras to secure any relief from the Iniquitous Impost, "would the resignation of the Ministers help in any way?" we reply, "Yes". It would, in the first place, convince the electors that responsible ministers mean what they say when they declare that they cannot continue to administer Departments unless the burden of the Impost we removed and they be thus afforded more money with which to fulfil their obligations and their duty as representatives of the electorate and guardians of public interests. As it is the public is left ~~ith~~ y the feeling that either such statements involved a gross exaggeration of their position or the Ministers have decided to remain in office in spite of their dis-abilities. In any case, it would be fair to tell the public just what has influenced the Ministers rather than adopt such specious pleas as that the issue is a non-party one or that they have not lost the confidence of the majority in the council. Let it be understood, too, that in calling on Ministers to explain their position we are also calling on the non-Brahmin Party to make its real views clear to the electorate . It is to the Ministers as Non-Brahmin leaders, not as Private individuals, that our remakks are addressed.

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Sri P.Theagaraya Chetty said that the Indian office would not be impressed by the Ministers' resignation. And then added in-consistently that such resignation would only give the Diehards in Parliament an opportunity to flung the "cursed Reforms into the limbo of oblivion". Here the Non-Brahmin leader has allowed his bitterness against the Diehards to conquer his reason. He knows full well that no British Parliament however diehard in character would be likely to withdraw the Reforms. Such ~~paxy~~ playing to the gallery in his Party is no answer to criticism on the contrary. We maintain that such a demonstration by the Madras Ministers would have impressed the British Parliament, even its most reactionary members, with a sense of the sincerity of Madras's complaint ~~fxx xx~~ far more than any standing to their posts" will do. Moreover, we have before us the example of Bengal. Why was Bengal relieved of her contribution? Sir Malcolm Hailey made a long speech recommending relief from Bengal and ~~advicedx~~ advanced many arguments in favour thereof. But his strongest argument be kept till the last.

Sir Malcolm Hairley adopted a very different tone when dealing with Madras's claim near it possible because he knew that the Madras Ministers would "stand to their posts". We in such that if the position of Ministers is still as had as it was when they spoke of the crippling and starvation of their departments, of their inability of carry on the Reforms, they and their Party should so as the Bengal Ministers and

do as the Bengal Minsters and council majority threatened to do, reign.

"Justice", in speaking of the relution of office by the Ministers, says: "They emply the unabalted confidence of the reserve had of the Government, as well as of the legislature....... ; they have also never been denied the resources which they could reasonably lay claim to in view of the prevailing financial strngency of the Government for the use and development of the Departments under their control". That is a strang and cryptic statement to appear in the organ of the Non-Brahmin Party. The Ministers do not depend on the reserved half of the government for their seats. They are elected representatives of the tax payers, and though it is desirable in the interests of harmonies working and the effeciency of the administration that the reserved and can reserved halves should have confidence in one another, itis not ground for the Ministers' refusal to give the public reasons for a change in their attitude. And what does "Justice" mean when it says that the Ministers receive all the money they can reasonably lay down to in view of the financial stringency of the Government? It sounds very much like the quibble. We have never contended that the Reserved half of the Government was favoured in the division of the availabl revenue. What we contend is that both halves ar enbarassed by the burden of the Iniquitous Impo that only the Ministers, owing other non-official and representated position, are able to make a public demonstation against the impost. Neither ... chetty nor "Justice" deals with th

question frankly. What the public want to know is What has changed the attitude of the Ministers? To put it plainly, have they any assurance of early relief for Madras from her ~~impost~~ unjust burden? If they have, let then tell the people. Then Madras may rejoice that she has ~~watch~~ won the first stage of her fight for justice, has travelled the first stage on the way to financial autonomy.

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A Gentle Admiration. 5 - 1 - 1923.

As guardian of the congress, the working committee has published a reply to Mr.C.Das, in which it gently ~~dudes~~ chides that wayward member of the Extremist family far saying things which are not palatable to the majority of its members. The committee not unreasonably points out that the compromise on the question of council entry to which Mr.Das referred was no compromise at all, since it involved the surrender of Extremist principles. It is, we think, pretty evident to most people that Mr.Das and those who think with him are convinced that the boycott ~~of the councils has proved as futile as the other boycott of the councils has~~ proved as futile as the other boycott schemes of the Extremists and that the councils offer the only road to power. In other words, Mr.Das, fully persuaded that unless the Extremksts entered the councils they would soon be left without followers, reeds broken in the wind, sought to persuade the fearful extremist majority to accept his views. On their refusing, he has decided to leave the congress mansion and persuade as many others of the family as he can to follow him. His going is giving rise to recriminations and parental rebukes, very familiar sequels of such family ruptures, and will be followed, without doubt, by a growing coolness developing into a definite and permanent breach.

Why they do not Resign. 7 - 1 - 1923.

At least a Madras Minister has condescended to explain why he and his fellow Ministers do not resign Mr.Venkatareddi Naidu, the Minister for Development, one of the Departments almost crippled by the Iniquitous Impost now levied on Madras, is the Ministerial spokesman. Replying to an Address presented to him at Kurnool he dealt at length with our criticisms of the Ministrial attitude towards the summary rejection by the Government of India's claim to relief. In his reply, Mr. Reddi Naidu makes much use of the fact that the Legislative Assembly rejected Madras's claim to relief. In a way he seems to hold that that rejection should be regarded as final by those who believe in constitutionalism. Yet he tells us that the Ministers are still fighting for justice for Madras, that a memorial has already been submitted to the Joint committee of Parliament on Indian Affairs, and that a deputation will be going to England with the object of continuing the fight. We are glad to hear it. But we cannot see how this further agitation squares with the Ministers suggestion that the constitutional course is to accept the denial of justice meted out to Madras by the Legislature Assembly, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State because these authorities have the legal power to refuse her justice. It is a green argument. We all knows how the Legislative Assembly majority was gained against Madras. The story of the rejection of her demand does not speak well for the sense of fair play and impartiality

existing in the Assembly when it deals with questions involving justice to some Provinces by the transfer of liabilities to others. Far from submitting to such decisions we contend that it is our duty, and the duty of the people's elected representatives, to fight them until they are reversed.

Mr.Venkata Reddi Naidu seens to think that the resignation of the Ministers would involve the destruction of the Reforms. It would not. It would be a proof that India prossesses Ministers who value their word and rate justice to their Province higher than the procession of power. However, we are glad that Mr.Reddi Naidu has at least broken the Ministerial silence. We leave our leaders to judge his reply on its merits, only adding that it fails even now to answer the question why Ministers who at one time declared that they could not carry on their Departments owing to lack of money now find themselves in a position to do so. Are we to look for great developments in the Departments transfered?

An Outspoken counseller.   13 - 1 - 1923.

Democracy is a goddess to whom so much lip service is paid in India now a days that it is refreshing to find one who boldly announces that she is not infalliable. Mr.S.Srinivasa Sastri has no doubts about the short comings of democracy. And, unlike many other politicians and public men who place popularity above all else, he is not afraid to tell her worshippers that they exist. "The faults of Democracy"1 he said yesterday evening, are many and serious". It is a truth which emphasising in these days when men would have us submit everything to the judgement of Democracy. The nob mind is ~~randy~~ rarely the ~~twest~~ best judge of what a nation needs most. It is too emotional, too easily swayed by fervid and ill balanced, passionate appeals. Astute propaganda, cunning machinations can easily persuade Democracy that the most cowses are justified. The counting of noses is, therefore, not always the best guide to a nation's welfare. It may seem a heresy to say so in these days of ever widening franchise. Yet it is now the less necessary that it should be said. For Democracy is peculiarly prove to excesses, as witness the outrages of the Bolshevist nobs, and the foolish resolution of the Gaya Extremist congress. No one takes those resolutions seriously, but they are an illustration of the proposals which an ignorant nob had by plassible demogogues may be induced to swallow. Nobody ~~bedrives~~ believes that India will ever be induced to repudiate her just debts, debts incurred in works for the good of and protection of her children, but an unthinking nob of Gaya was induced to support such a proposal. It needs men of wide vission and experience

of men and affairs to prove to men that democracy is falliable, and that the counsel of wise and moderate men should be headed if the temple which houses her is not to be utterly destroyed by those who pretend to serve her most. Lookout Russia. There, the touch of Democracy has been destroyed by the mob at the behest of a few unscrupulous men who have ~~doubened~~ jumped to supreme power over the ruins. We congratulate Mr.V.S.Sastri or his outspoken references to the need for corrections to Democracy, and while we do not expect that his ~~xiexex~~ ~~viscuss~~ views will receive universal approval, they will undoubtedly be endorsed by all thinking men, and ~~alone~~ above all, by all who truly love their country and desire her welfare.

It must be realised.   18 - 1 - 1923.

"I think we should made a serious attempt at understanding the value of the present constitution and more than that, its potentialities. It seems to me that it must be realised by the people and also by the Government that the centre of law (? power) has been shifted from white hall to Delhi and Simla.

The above is not the opinion of a political demagogue seeking the favour of a mob. It is that of one who has served in the Government of India itself, has been engaged with most intimate work of that government, has been responsible for interprety the new constitution for the Governor General and his collegues in the Government of India. It is the view of one to whose wisdom and impartiality the Viceroy himself has paid eloquent tribute. The speaker, Sapru, has already suffered the fate of those who speak well of the Reforms. He has been jeered at by the Extremists. But their jeers one the most true indication of the worth of his remarks. And yet Dr. Sapru was but restating a fact previously emphasised by all who have cared to study the Reforms and their import seriously. The centre of power has been transfered to India. It was the knowledge of the dangers attending the transfer of such power to untrained hands which was at the root of the majority of the European opposition to the ~~Modague~~ Montague-Chelmsford scheme. Once that scheme was adopted by Parliament and became the foundation of the new Indian constitution that opposition tended to die away, and is to-day giving place to a real desire to co-operate with the people

~~place to a real desire to co-operate with the people~~ of India a using the new power given to them to the advantage of the country and the welfare of its people. The changed attitude of the European Association, the vigorous policy of participation in political affairs now being pursued by that organisation and the organisations of ~~Indians~~ Anglo-Indians afford evidence of this desire.

Paradoxically it is equally true that, as Dr.Sapru says, the Government of India does not enjoy sufficient independence, is still over-controlled by the Secretary of State for India. Dr.Sapru explains the paradox. The Reforms Act aims at creating a strong central Government in India, but in order that the strong central Government, for long accused of having excessively bureaucratic tendencies, and largely ~~found~~ feared by the people of India themselves, should not absense the new power which the Reforms constitution gives it, Parliament reserved to itself the right, through the Secretary of State, to have the final word in Indian affairs. It ~~is~~ was a safeguard desired by, it is no exaggeration to say, the majority of the Indian people. Dr.Sapru tells us that the Safeguard has become a hindrance, a real interference with the freedom of the Government of India. This, we believe, is partly because the Secretary of State, unwilling to relinquish his old power, has failed to realise the true import of the Reforms and partly because

the Government of India is so bitterly and consistently attacked by Indian publicits who have failed to appreciate the responsibility which the Reforms have transfered to the shoulders of the Indian people themselves. Were the Government of India more trusted by the reputed leaders of of the Indian people, their actions less frequently questioned, the Secretary of State would have less accassion to interfere, and, What is more important, less ground for interfering. At present the Secretary of State holds, that his conduct is necessary on all the proceedings of the Government of India as well as their final decisions in order that the people of India may know that the Government's proceedings have been duly shroffed by Parliament's representative. Dr.Sapru would have "the men on the spot" more largely trusted, thus applying to India the policy of the Secretary of States's own party.

Such shroffing is, it is true, provided for in the Reforms Act, but that provision was never intended by the framers of that Act to mean a real limitation by the Secretary of State of the freedom of the Government of India such as Dr.Sapru maintains has hitherto existed. The Reforms Act aimed at making the Government of India increasingly responsible to the Indian Legislature. This is obvious

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~~obvious~~ all through the Montague Chelmsford Report and the text of the Act itself. The provision for periodical revisions of the Act indicates it. And as the Indian Legislature proves its ability to guide the Government of India, to rice the real opinions of the electors, so will the Government of India become increasingly responsible to it. So far, it must be admitted, Indian legislators have done little to educate the electorate. Far too many legislators have contented themselves with accupying their seats and delivering speeches in the council chamber.

They have not sought to awaken the mass of the electors to their view privileges and responsibilities. They represent therefore but a few, a very few, of the people, a minority of the electors. Power has indeed been shifted from white hall to Simla and Delhi, but it cannot be said that those who go to Simla and Delhi ~~law~~ have hitherto shown themselves worthy of that power by educating the Indian electors to use this power wisely and well. Untill this work is done they can hardly complain if a hesitent Secretary of state appears to hold the ~~period~~ rein too tightly - we say appears, because Sir Malcolm Hailey, replying to a question in the Assembly yesterday, conveyed the impression that the government of India and the Secretary of State are in greater accord than the public have been led to believe they are.

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A vote for a vote. 26 - 1 - 1923.

This is the slogen which Madras Members of the Legislative Assembly are asked to adopt as their guide in the divisions in the Assembly. It epitomises the most powerful mean remaining to them to secure fair play for their Province. It is no view slogan in democratic countries. It has long been adopted by political parties in every Western nation. In Britain, pairing is one of its phases, and every advocate of special causes knows well that to secure success for his cause he must barter his vote with others desirous of for-warding some special view. Canvassing, and lobbying are among the methods of barter employed, and employed successfully in most elected assemblies. Madras representatives are asked, to employ these methods, to place a definite price on their votes in the Legislative Assembly, that price being a vote in favour of the renual of the Iniquitous Import. In this way they will be able to ensure the success of this Province in its struggle for fair play; in its efforts to secure relief from the burden which His Excellency Lord Willingdon describes as "The most unpist contribution which we are foced to pay in order to reduce the defecit of the Government of India."

The struggle, His Excellency says, has only just begun. We do not agree with him entirely and hope that, far from just begining, the struggle has entered upon its final and successful stage. It was begun many months ago. There have already been several skirmishes and at least are big engagement in the Assembly. From them all, Madras

has come defeated but vindicated. Her ememies have been discredited. Her chief foes, the Government of India under the leadership of Sir Maclcon Hailey, have had to resort to all the cunning devices of the politician to secure a temporary triumph. They have denied Madras the privilege which they once promised her, and have shown an unscrupulous disregard for facts incombating her claims. Madras has been out ~~manoeuced~~ manoeuvred, but the righteousness of her cause is undiminished and her final victory, united action by Madras Members in the Legislative Assembly, a unanimou s determination to see that for every vote they give to another's cause, their own shall receive a vote in return already sufficient has been done in this direction by Madras members at present at Delhi to cause alarm in other camps. Bombay members who joined foces with the Government of India in- September last, are begining to realise that Madras is determined to appose them unless they support her and they are reconsidering their position, preparing to support our just claim. Other Provinces with Schemes and resolutions to push through are also realising that if they want Madras's support they must give her theirs. "A vote for a vote". In this we have a means for more powerful than deputations to England on ~~remarks~~ memorials to the Secretary of state, more powerful because it will enable us to win the fight in the only place where it can truly be won, the Legislative Assembly.

Prohibition in Madras Impracticable. 10-2-1923.

In Excise administration Madras has for decades been ahead of the other Provincial Government in India. Ever in close touch with public opinion, the Madras Government have been responsive to the criticisms of temperance reformers and have frequently examined their Excise policy in order to bbring it, as far as possible, into line with the most up-to-date ideas in progressive countries. Other Provinces have indented upon Madras for expert advice whereever they contemplated making changes in their Excise systems, Sir Janes Dhomson and Sir Charles Todhunter, among Madras officials, accquired in this way undoubted preeminence as expects in Salt and Abkari questions. It is, therefore, no matter for surprise that Mr.D.N. Strattine's recent deputation on behalf of the Madras Government to study the various form of Excise administration at work in other Provinces, has not had much to learn from them. Indeed, it has returned confirmed in the conviction that the Madras system is one of the best ever evolved and one which stands acquitted from any charge of encouraging drinking creating undue facilities for the supply of xxxx drink. Mr.Strathe's report, we understand, maintains that the auction system continues to hold the field as the wisest method of control while it is the one which brings in the maximum of revenue High taxation being the most effective means of reform, the Madras system, therefore, as it xx stands to day enables the Ministers (who, under the

Reforms, are now responsible for Excise administration) to advance along what ever line of progress they decide to be most admisable. Now, the Hon.Mr.Patro, the Minister in charge of the Excise portfolio, is himself a temperance advocate, so it is particularly interesting to note the lines on which he would have reform progress. He has indicated these in a comprehensive memorandum along with the deputations report, is now before the advisary Committee on Excise. While of the opinion that the Madras Excise system has been worked largely as a temperance measure, Mr.Patro would bring the Madras system more up to date under the high licence system, by extending the Licensing Boards hitherto confined to urban centres to mofussil areas. The Minister examines the practicability of prohibition in the light of conditions obtaining in this Presidency, and declares his opinion that prohibition is not a practicable proposition in Madras at present. His aim would not be so much to use Excise administration for the production of the largest revenue, however, as to secure a reduction of consumption as the higher objective, using the steady presure of high taxation as a means to the end.

Mr.Patro's memorandum is an earnest study of this vexed question and is calculated to bring about reforms in the administration which ought to set at rest, at least for some time, adverse criticisms of an aggressive

type. But let the Minister see to it, when he makes his final decision, that it is a real popular sentiment that make itself felt and not merely the uniformed prejudice of a small minority, whose religion forbids them the use of that stimulant from which their pooeer brethern, we believe, derive one of the few comforts in their sordid lives.

The Delhi conference. 15 - 2 - 1923.

"Solid work, not empty words" New India tells us, "Characterised the Delhi conference......... The elected representatives of the Nation, in the councils and in the self governing local bodies composed this influential, gathering which met and discussed great and difficult problems at a critical moment in the history of India". We fail to see what has been accomplished, except the repetition of talk which has been indulged in scores of times before, the appointment of useless committees and the passing of futile resolutions. Even the conference does not seem to have been very clear about itself. We are told that there were (series) of speeches which showed that a good deal of confusion existed regarding the specific objects of the conference." and Mr.Gokarnanath Miska confessed that he was confused about what he would carry to his constituency as a result of the conference to ask for their votes. What New India means by a critical moment in the history of India" we do not know. The "critical moment" is being created by impatient people who do not know how to use what they have got. When they have proved themselves faithful in a few things, it has been promised (and the promise will be kept) that they shall be made rules ~~xxxxxx~~ over many things. They do not wish to be faithful in a few things. they have by no means exhausted the considerable power in their hands the councils - they hanker after the many short cuts can not be taken in responsible government without disastrous results. What ten years in the history of a country so slow as India? And three have already passed. There are a few very competent Indians, but that does

not make up a government. Assuming that everything that the Delhi Conference demanded was granted tomorrow do the leaders honestly think that they could find enough of their countrymen to carry on successfully and safely? The secret of the Delhi conference was given away by Mr.Rangachariar(who" laid stress on the fact that they were aiming at ~~xx~~ evolving a constituti n which might dispense with the necessity for any statutory commission to come out to India."The conference forth with draws up a "Plan of Reforms" detailing the form of the future machinery of government in India. So the self constituted oligarchy of wise children is presuming to teach the Mother of Parliaments how to bring up her household, with the lame excuse of wishing to saw her trouble! In the art of Government Great Britain has been admittedly, supreme. All that Indians know about it they have learned from her. They will not improve their projects or her temper by ceasing to learn and attempting to teach her.

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Swarajya in a new light. 22 - 2 - 1923.

"Approbation from Sir Herbert Stanley is praise indeed". 'Swarahya' actually approves of the machinery of government developed by the British in India condemning the constitutional scheme of the Das Party, who have split the Indian congress, Swarajya says: "We cannot emphasise too much that the Swaraj movement in India does not stand for any Utopice, pedantic or at in quatham theories of Government"! Stating that the demand is for parliamentary democracy our contemporary continues:

In the persuit of that objective, we recognise that the institutions so far developedin India should be utilised to their fullest extent on the condition that they are left free from the intereference of alien bureaucrats either at Simla or at whitehall........He (Mr.Das) wants an entirely new constitution, He would break down the judicial, legal and administrative machinery that India has developed during the course of the last one century. Mr.Das's objection is probably that it is foreign. Nothing is more untrue. The roots of the present British administrative machinery, with the exception of its bureaucratic superstructure, are firmly planted in the soil of India, as we know it from the times of the Nandas. Between the organisation of Government that chanakya has described and that which exists in India to day the difference is mainly if not entirely in the fact that the interests served are not Indian but English. We are for Nationalism for self-government, for the complete

independence of India if need be, but we are not for the destruction of the Governmental machinery that exists in this country, a proposal which Mr.Das and others are making evidently in the fond hope that they are nationalising administration or building up something to suit the race mind of India.......If the government as at present organised apart from the policy persued, has one benefit it is that the divisive forces in the geographical and social structure of India tend to disappear under it".

So British rule in India has not been so wicked afterall.

The Non-Brahmin Programme.

24 - 2 - 1923.

As we announced last Saterday, the first term of practically all the Provincial Legislatures in India is likely to expire before the begining of August next, in order to facilitate a general election and reconstitution of the councils in time to give all the new members an opportunity of familiarising themselves with council proceedure so that "they may be well equipped to take an affective part in the discussion of the Budget for the ensuring year", while an early general election is specially to be welcomed in Malabar, since the new council will then have the advantage of the direction and guidance of His Excellency Lord Willingdon for some months before he retires. It says a great deal for the political 'nous' and the well organised enterprise of the present party in power in Madras that we are able to publish, within a week of the first announcement, the detailed election oveering programme with which they seek to obtain a newed man date from the people during the coming campaign. Although it is scarcely credible that any other Madras Party should be able X materially to alter the character of our next Legislative council, it is yet decidedly wise of the non-Brahmin party to get first on the field with election wring slogans. For them to appear over sure of success might easily breed distrust and suspicion

among the voters, whereas a frank declaration of policy fosters understanding, and a speedy declaration, confidence. Personally we would criticise their programme as unnecessarily ambitious and unconfortably top heavy. We do not seem, for instance, how their advocacy of the establishment of Indian embasis in the Dominions will assist them to win a Madras electionwring campaign in August. Many of their items under the heads of "Foreign" and "Imperial" will only serve to set the Becklers to merry and quite immaterial bandingge, Moreover, their declaration of policy lays exaggereated emphasis on the need for a speedy Indianisation of the administration, which, while it will appeal to the gallery will not be overwelcome to the European who has backed the non-Brahmin party for its aparent moderation and calm judgement on this matter. We think the party would have been much wiser to concentrate on purely provincial questions. The programme of provincial subjects is bound to be of more intimate and practical interest to the electorate. This the non-Brahmin party certainly proposes to make thoroughly practical so as to confer the greatest good on the largest number. Full provincial autonomy is rightly placed at the forefront of this programme with the abolition of ~~Ministerial~~ Provincial contributions. Medical relief, further extension of Local self-government, promotion of public health and sanitation, development of conpulsory education, vacational training and making the University an effecient hand maid for

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the material development of the country, construction of light railways by local bodies, fixity of land revenue, provission of increased irrigational faciltities (1), development of local industries, improvement in the conditions ofxx factory labour, organising trade unions etc, are all reforms to whihh they propose seriously to devote themselves. A party like that of the Madras Non-Brahmins, standing for the all round progress of the Province, should not have for itself a more ambitious programme. Their record in the past has been, on the whole, a commendable one. The leaders, not withstanding provocative utterances of ardent but irresponsible eleme ts in the Party, have not allowed the spirit of aggression to influence their conduct towards minorities, particularly influential minorities like the Europeans and the Brahmins, except in so far as it has been considered necessary to redress age long in equalities in the social sphere, and under preparderence of one community in public services. Exercise of their political power should have impressed on the leaders of the party the wisdom of tempering their desire to ~~revenue~~ secure equal justice to all with a xxxx realisation of the claims of individuals in the Services of the government for fair treatment be their colour or caste what they may. We do not say that there have been many cases of glaring in justice perpetreated in dis-regard of such claims, but we consider that in the interests of a progressive and an effecient

interests of a progressive and an effecient administration, the leaders of the party will do well to lay our friendly warning to heart, should they return to power, as we believe they will. Festina brute, gentlemen, festina brute.

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<u>Ministerial Salaries.</u> 28 -2- 1923.

Since the constitution of the reformed council and the appointment of Ministers as members ~~Madras~~ of the Government in charge of transfered subjects, attempts have been made from time tome to press for a reduction of their salaries on the score merely of economy, but also on the ground that Indian publicists and politicians, when called to high offices under government, should set an example by agreeing to serve their country for less emoluments than those paid to afficers recruited from abroad for service in India. But the majority in the councils regarded the matter a different view point. The debates in the councils on the subject turned on the dignity of the office of Minister and the desirability, if not the necessity, of maintaining it at all costs on the same lend as the office of Executive councillors in charge of the reserved half. In addition to this, the debate in the Madras council largely turned on communal jealouses, the motion for cutting down the salaries being attributed to the chegrin of disappointed political opponents of the party returned to power. The disinclination of the majority of the council in the earlier stages of this agitation, to create disparity between the evoluments of members and Ministers, was largely due to its desire to defend the principle at stake-equality of status between the two sections of the cabinet.

Two years have rolled by since then and the Presidency has in the interval passed through a period of great financial stringency. The members of the Ministerial party have been persistently urging many proposals for economy and retrenchment in all departments of Government, suggesting the abolition of many appointments and reduction in the salaries of many others. It is, therefore, matter for no surprise that the Ministers have ~~more~~ now voluntarily offered to forgo a thousand rupees out of their salaries of Rs-5,333 per month, to give proof of their anxiety to come to the relief of the Government by carrying out retrenchments in their own salaries. We are glad that the Ministers have set this commendable example. Belated as it might be looked upon by their political opponents, it was none the less welcomed with considerable approbation, as evidenced by the applause with which the announcement was received by the council during Sir Charles Todhunter's speech in introducing the Budget. Equally appreciated is the offer of the Honourable Sir P.Rajagopala chariar, the President of the Council, to forgo Rs.1,000 of his not very considerable amolutment of Rs.3,000 per month for one of his great administrative experience and outstanding abilities. These have contributed not a little to the high level of effeciency with which the council has worked since its inauguration, and which won for the council the appreciation of Sir Frederick Llayle, during his recent visit to Madras.

Split again (Indian National Congress)

3 - 1 - 1923.

On the plea that the Gaya Congress programme is not conducive to the speedy attainment of Swaraj, Mr.C.R.Das and those who believe with him have decided to form a new political party. The reason is significant: for Mr.Das does not anticipate a very early realisation of his ideal "Swaraj". In his Presidential Address at Gaya he said "Nor do I attach any importance to the question as to whether the attainment of full and conplete independence will be a matter of 7 years or 10 years or 20 years. A few years is nothing in the life history of a nation? And if a man who holds these views thinks that the Gaya programme for the realisation of Swaraj is less speedy than his own, why do we have all this outcry about the slowness of the country's progress under the Reforms? Grudging by the results of the past two years, and the provisions for periodical revisions of the Reforms Act provided for in that statute, the progress of the country under the Reforms, compared with that to be expected to be under the Das programme or the Extremist scheme, is like a modern ~~seearn~~ Ocean greyhound to a old time sailing ship. Instead of grumbling at the constitutional politicians for going too slow, Mr.Das ought really to complain that they are going much too fast in his and his fellow Extremists' old fashioned view.

We are inclined to think that it is fear of too rapid progress which is at the bottom of Mr.Das's policy.

The revolution and discontent he seeks to foment are not likely to prove stepping stones to national

greatness. Civil disobedience, the undermining of constitutional authority, threats of war, of meetings, of open disloyalty, and of seditious activities are not the means adopted by far seeing statesmen to prepare the popular mind for the acceptance of their own policies. Such men know full well that no Government founded upon the basis of disrespect for law and order could continue. In destroying civil discipline, civil morality, and popular loyalty, the Extremists are, as Mr.Das knows full well, making it impossible for any government, even an Extremist Government to rule the country, to preserve peace, good order and gurantee the security of the individual.

This latest split in congress will accassion no surprise among those who have watched the decline of that body from comparatice sanity to delusional monomania. For there is one certain fact about Extremists, they cannot agree together for long. The history of the French Revolution is a classical example of this truth. The Dases and the Rajagopalacharis in the congress could not be expected to work together for many moons. Nor, we think, will the present split be the last. It is, of course foolish to argue as Mr. Das as Mr.Das pretends to, that the new Das party will work within the congress, differing from the majority and striving against it. The majority, to save itself, will soon turn such traitorous comrades out of its camp. The cleavage is and must be complete, and one more conference will be added to the feast of tongues to which, each Christmas season, India is devoted. For ourselves, we welcome the decision of the Das Party. We always prefer to see men come out in

their own true colours, even when their colours are as horrific as those adopted by Mr.Das. And, more over, his decision to fight for seats in the Councils will serve to brighten our election politics and speed the political education in the public. The next elections should, if portents are fulfilled, be a time of great national awakening, and one which, we feel certain, will prove that the Indian electors are far too wise to abandon the substance of the Reforms for the shadore of the Extremist promises, whether those promises come from Dassites, Khilafat wallahs, or congress trumpeters.

Look before you leap. 6 - 3 - 1923.

It was most unfortunate that Mr.C.R.Reddy, one of the accredited leaders of the non-Brahmin party, should have made all the statements he did about Malabar when speaking in the Madras Legislative council on Saturday last. The country is right in setting considerable store by the experience and training of a gentleman of Mr.Reddy's type, but, as one almost unacquainted with the real conditions in Malabar, his excusion into the realm of the politics of the west coast, if it was necessary to undertake it at all, should have been undertaken only with great circumspection. But Mr.Ranaling Reddy threw circumspection to the winds when he assailed the Hon.Mr.A.R.Knapp with a series of questions, to every one of which there was asting attached. One of Mr.Reddy's question was whether the Madras Government had received a sum of Rs.50,000 from His Excellency H.the Nizam of Hyderabad for the relief of suffrers in Malabar; another was whether the Malabar police had on several occasions during the rebellion been guilty of cowardice. Yet another question of Mr.Reddy's was whether the government contemplates the sending of hundreds of Moplah women to the Andaman Islands to join their husbands now undergoing transportation sentences there. Mr. Reddy also hinted in another of his questions that the collector of Malabar was trying to stifle the tenancy agitation now being carried on in that district. These questions for the most part had no better foundation to rest upon than rumour. Any cautious politican, before putting questions of such

~~cautious politician, before putting questions~~s ~~of such~~ a kind, having reference to an area recovering from the horrors of a rebellion, would have taken the trouble to verify "information given to him. The method adopted by Mr. Reddy was mischievous and the castigation administered to him by Mr.Knapper was well deserved. Mr.Knapper's trenchant remarks completely refuted the insinnations undenlying the questions and demonstrated for a hundredth time the need there is for non-official members of the council to lay to heart the lesson of the old proverb "Look before you leap".

We do not propose to deal with Mr.Knapp's reply at any length, but it was plain from it that the receipt of a windfall from His Excellency H. the Nizam for Malabar relief was a mere cock and bull story. There was absolutely no ground also for levalling the charge of cowardice against the Malabar Police, a fact which was also most emphatically testified to in the council by Mr.E.F.Thomas, the collector of Malabar during ~~considered~~ considerable period of the rebellion. As regards the proposed departation of Moplah women to the Andamans it transpired that what the authorities had in contemplation was a benevolent scheme, whereby such women as were willing to join their husbands would be sent to the convict settlement on the ~~di~~strict understanding that if they did not take life with their husbands there they would be at liberty to return at Government expense. It was mentioned by Mr.Knapp that

so far not more than ten women had volenteered to join their husbands. Mr.Reddy's other question was whether the collector of Malabar was trying to stifle the tenancy legislation in the district. The correspondence between the collection of Malabar and Dewan Bahadur Mr.Krishnan Nair clearly indicates what Mr.Thorne's motive was in pointing out the unwisdom of active propaganda work in the present tenancy agitation, in Malabar. Mr.Thomas states. "Active propaganda and the holding of meetings whether in support of the proposed tenancy legislation or in opposition to it, in that area, is bound in my opinion to have an unsettling effect and I feel it necessary to point out to you my duties and responsibilities in the matter". Mr.Krishnan Nair's reply. Speaks for itself. For our part we have already drawn attention on more than one occasion to the harm that might be done by intemperate agitation over a cause, however just or unjust. The areas that are recovering from the effects of the rebellion are populated mostly by people of an inflammable character, and there is no knowing what may happen if the precautions contemplated by Mr.Thomas are not loyally supported by popular leaders both of the tenants and the jenmies. It seems to us that in the interests of law and order all agitation both by landlords and tenants, as carried on at present in the rebel area should be suspended, the Government taking the initiative of tenancy

Legislation after satisfying thesmevles that the need for it is waranted by conditions in Malabar. An immediate announcement that Government is taking action in the direction indicated will certainly serve to ease the situation.

The Sikh troubles. 10 - 3 - 1923.

No better example of the way in which religion has been exploites by political agitators in India could be found them in the history of the Sikh Akali movement in the Punjab. The ~~status~~ Sikh, who form less than 12 percent of the whole population of India, are their important place as a community to the British Government and to British army officers who have promised, encouraged and admired them. Otherwise, as "Komma" observes in the Fortnightly Revenue", the Sikh religion"would long ago have become one of the minor and less important sects of Hinduism" Sikh sites have been followed in Sikh regiments, the sikhs have enjoyed a full share of the prosperity that has come to the Bunjab through irrigation", but any gratitude they may have felt for past favour has been killed by the evil misrepresentation of those who are working for revolution in India. A purely religions dispute has been turned into a political dispute. It has been the more easily accomplished because the Punjab Government, while determined not to interfere in religions matters could not stand by and watch breaches of the peace. It has been a peculiarly difficult position for the Punjab Government, and we are glad to see that the mover of the resolution in the Punjab council for the release of Akali prisoners had the grace to acknowledge the Government's "difficult task". The history of the sikh agitation is very interestingly traced by "Komma" in the article from which we have quoted above. He points

He points out that upto 1907 the Sikh revival wa[s] a movement entirely loyal to the British Governme[nt]. Then a change began. Two agitators, Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh (afterwards deported) began a campaaign against the Punjab Government, concentrating their efforts in Lyallpur, where a very prosperous colony was established as the result of irrigation. In 1909 capital was made out of the fact that Government took over the control of the Khulsa College, Amritzar, although they were begged to do so by a great Sikh leader, the late Rajah of Nabha, owing to quarrels among the sikhs themselves. One of the English professors was murderously attacked in 1914 by a man who came from Lyallpur. After the Great war broke out a false report was circulated that a Sikh shrine near Delhi was to be pulled down in order to make way for the new capital. when the Hindus and Muslims joined hands after the war to obtain "swaraj" they realised that the important Sikh element must not be left out, especially as the Sikhs formed a vital part, of the Indian Army. So a very intense campaign was opened against Sikh loyalty in 1920". It did not produce the desired effect until the famous religions dispute about the guardianship of the shrines was converted into a political dispute. The shromain gurdwara Parbandhak committee for the management of gurdwaras (shines) was formed. Bands of Akali volunteers were entrusted to forcibly take possession of shines whose Meharts those who perform the religious services) were considered objectionable. After the Nambana trajedy "effective military measures were taken by Government to prevent further seize re of shrines,

and a Bill was hastly drawn up by which an inquiry could be made as to the property in shrines and an and interim committee of management could be appointed That Bill was rejected by the Sikh leader. The control of the movement was now entirely political. The last thing that the controllers desired was that any arrangement should be made which would bring peace. What they now wanted was the recovery, not of the shrines only, but also of the lordship of the Punjab and Swaraj for India", and so it has gone on. The Guru Ka -Bagh is a shrine near Amritzar. Akalis arrested here at one time numbered a hundred a day. The danger of releasing all these fanaties unless they give an undertaking not to repeat their offences is obvious. The remedies for the situation are pointed out by "Komma", the political movement must be dissoluted from the religious movement..... the agitators must be silenced.......the law which has prevented the reformation of sikh shrines must be changed so as to accomodate the growing desire of the Sikhs to purify their religion. The time is short, but there is yet time if there is no hesitation."

<u>Muslims and Non-co-operation</u> 16 - 3 - 1923.

The Aga Khan gave same counsel to Madras Muslims yesterday, when be urged that their chief civic duty was to co-operate with all their fellow subjects, "of what ever race or creed. Likewise the Hon-Sri Abdur Rahim did good service to the cause of law and order when he warned the Muslim students of the Calcutta Madarasa against following the cult of the Charka" and the "Khadar" and warned them against the folly of the non-co-operation movement. His appeal to them as good Muslims, on historic grounds, not to adopte a policy of isolation, but to be ready to assimulate, as their great leaders had done, all that was good amongst other peoples and nationalities, was wise. Isolation from the world's activities, he maintained, was not the true spirit of Islam, The Aga Khan holds a similar view. the Khilafat agitators would do well to study, more closely than they apparently do, the history of civilisation in Islam. They will find material in the recent work by Zayadan, Known as "The History of Islamic civilisation", ~~in Islam. They will find material in the recent work by Zaydan,~~ and in the pages of that great Historian Ibu Khaldun, not to name other sources of information. The aim of the early Khalifa was to unite the Arab people into one nation on a religions basis, and thus to break down the disintegrating influences of the tribal divisions. In this they succeeded fairly will, though tirbal disputes later on optem led to trouble.

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Thus in the battle of siffin (A.).657) the contending parties were all Arabs) Ali's followers appealed to the Quran, and as they marched to the attack, sang:

We fought you for its recitation,
Now fight you for its explanation,
Our blows will cause decapitation
And interrept all conversation
Till right returns to its location.

(Masudi 11:16)

The policy, of first, was to keep the Arabs free from outside and alien influence. This created a Chauvini-stic spirit, which in ages long after led to serious consequences, but this is too large a subject to deal with here. The ~~early~~ early cities of Basrab, Kufer and Fustat were little more than armed camps, and the regions round them were used as a source of supply for the central capital. Muslims were not encouraged to settle there permanently and indeed were forbidden to do so as cultivators."Never" said the Khalifa Umar, "has the ploughshare entered a house, but humiliation has entered it also (Khaldun 1-119) But this isolation could not continue and, as the empire grew, the rulers took a wider view of things. They obtained the services of the Mawdli, onclients, men belonging to subject rales, who embraced Islam and so came under Muslim protection. Some of the great scholars and administrators of those early days were charts, and to them Muslim civilisation owes ~~xxxxxxdebt~~.a great debt. During the brilliant period of the Barmaked influence at Baghdad the Khalifas did not hold aloof from other civilisations, but adopted what they saw was good.

This was especially the case in medical science.

It is true that the Khilafat was an absolute despotism: the religious and political functions were exercised by one man. Zaydan considers this union essential, and points out that such dynostics as those of the Dujid, Selucid, and Ayyudid, though their monarchs were xxxx brave men, but held no religious office, soon passed away. One xx the other hand, the umayyid, Abbasid and the Unayyad of Spain dignosties, all with Khalifat of the old type, lasted long. The same applies to the once powerful Turkish Empire. It will be interesting to see whether the great change in the Khilafat made by Angora results in strength or weakness to the Turkish Empire. In the conquests in Spain the Muslims co-operated with the Berbers, and largely by their aid obtained a hold on the farrest provinces of that land. Some of the Khalifas xx there were ladge hearted and liberal minded rulers. They encouraged the study of literature, xxx out and science, which they scorned to obtain from learned Jews. The history of the development of Islamic philosophy shows that true culture avoids aloofness. There is no more interesting period of Muslim history. Wherever and when Islamic culture has flourished, there has been co-operation. Indian Muslims who have been captured for political purposes by the Gandhi cutt would do well to study the history of the post and to mend their ways.

The students of the Calcutta Madarasa have surely something to learn from the civilisation of the West which they will not learn from the Sahiyasb cult. It is not by wild and foolish opposition to

opposition to the government under which they lime in plac , but by co-operation with it that the progress of India, and especially of the Muslim community, non lies. Sir Abdur Rahim did well to base his remarks on historical precedents, for which he has full and ample justification. His speech and that of the Aga Khan should be read and pondered over by all well wishers of Muslims in India, and especially by those who are in danger of being led astray by the Khilafat agitators.

<u>Khilafat Funds.</u> 21 - 3 - 1923.

The report of the committee appointed to inquire into the expenditure of the funds collected in the name of the central Khilafat committee is at once a rendation and a warning a revolation to poor, duped, Indian subscribers of the value of Khilafat leaders as trustees of money and a warning to them and to all Indians of what would happen if the central khilafat committee became the Government of India India would then require an Inchcape committee every year. As an example of incompetence and indifference the record of the central Khilafat committee is not surprising - it is the sort of things anyone acquainted with India would have expected and is incomparably worse than anything of which the Government of India has been guilty even in its worst moments. Our local Extremist organs have been very ready to pounce on the exposures in the Inchcape Report, they might now turn their alteration to their own organisation and ask themselves whether they honestly think that the khilafat trustees - presumably chosen for their ability over their fellows! would be fit and proper ~~knows~~ persons to whom to hand over the care of 320 millions would the tax payer be any more sure of a return for his money them the Khilafat subscriber? The Khilafat Funds Report shows that those who were placed in control of the administration of those funds (or placed themselves in control) have no financial conscience what so ever. Indians, and some misguided Europeans, are continually talking about the Indian's fitness

to rule. One of the first requirements for rulership is a financial conscience. We can find no trace of it in the central Khilafat Committee and apparently there is no repentence in them, for the Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Khilafat committee understands that the report of the Inquiry committee, was not adopted at the annual meeting of the central Khilafat committee held at Gaya. We congratulate this Secretary on the courage with which he has spoken out on the effect of the revelations. I don't know how I can conscientiously appeal to the people of Bengal to contribute to the Angora Khilafat Fund and send collections to the central Khilafat committee to be squandered in the fashion as revealed in the report. I do not think that the people will come forward to contribute to the fund, as they have reasons to believe that their hard earned money will be misused and misspent". The ~~xxgxx~~ Bengal Provincial Secretary is seriously considering whether his committee ought to continue to work under the disorganised irresponsible central body". It will be interesting to hear the opinions of other provincial secretaries. From the point of view of the government of India and the Reforms, the revolations are, of course, the best thing that could have happened. They more than offset the Inschcape disclousures and they warn Moderates inclined to be impatient and join hands with the Left of what government under the Extremists would be like.

Certification.

31 - 3 - 1923.

The Viceroy in a closely reasoned statement gives convincing argument for his action of certifying the Salt Tax. The Indian Press is, of course, in an uproar but only those blinded by the fury into which they have lashed themselves because of the likelihood of certification can fail to see the wisdom of the exercise by the Viceroy of his constitutional power. The rubbish that is talked about the danger of the Reforms is too silly to receive attention. The threats of a political storm claim some attention, because Indian agitators, as was shown during the Rowlett coutroversy, are diabolically clever at misrepresentation. That the salt tax is harmless we proved on Thursday; but Indians and the Indian Press now that they ~~that they~~ have something which will appeal to uninstructed imaginations will continue to rare about "flouting the Assembly". The lists are set", an autocracy no less in the new dispensation than in the old", and so on. The Hindu accuses the Viceroy of adding insult to injury by affending ot his certificate "a statement of the reasons which induced him to take that autocratic course. We do not think Lord Reading has meant it to carry conviction with the people. It is more an apology for his action than a reasoned justification thereof. The more one studies it the more will one's impression be confirmed that it is a thoroughly specious document". We leave our readers to Judge. 'Swarajya' exclaims: "The Reforms have been irretricuably sapped, to their very fundations by the Exercise of the

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certificate which continues repeating itself like a recurring decimal. It is well that there is no longer even the dubious pretence of Government by consent.......the fact stands out that the Reforms have ceased to exist. And stone-dead hath no fellowed Only the leader writer of S arajya' could go to such extremes. Mrs.Besant declares in Oracular mood in "New India". "The gauntlet has been thrown down by His Excellency the Governor General in the faces of the Assembly ~~added~~ and the Indian Nation, and for the moment the victory is with the autocracy. But the battle is not therefore over. The reset move will be in the House of commons.......We shall soon hear what action will be taken by our representatives. Their best plan would be, I ~~xxx~~ am sure, to resign in a body - not in order to sit useless outside, a la N.C.O. but to appeal to their constituents to return them as a protest... The National convention of 1924 will ensure the permanent demise of the autocracy". Mrs.Besent is as so reckless in prophecy as Mr.Gandhi. Mean while the salt tax will be collected India's credit will be restored, and Madras will lookforward with confidence to a reduction of her contribution of Rs. 348 Lakhs to Simla. Will not sensible, Indians realise that this is better than cheap popularity? Let them tell the electors to take the shrinkings of political extremists despite the tax.

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The Punjab outbreak. 13 - 4 - 1923.

Indians are very fond of quoting devide -eb-impera as the principle on which British scale in India is based; but the culmination of Hindu Muslim hatred in the Punjab in street fighting at Amritsar proves once more how real are communal jealousies, and how entirely independent of British encouragement. In spite of all the boasted labours of congress and Khilafat leaders for Hindu Muslim unity, there is no Unity below the surface. The distrust of each of the other is imigrained, hereditary and instinctive, and is liable to develop into hatred and fanatical outbreaks at any moment. National Unity in India is a dream of the future. The dangerous situation that has arisen in the Punjab, a situation that has gone beyond the control of Hindu and Muslim leaders, gives us an indication of what would happen if the British left India tomorrow. The communal hatred is not denied. Mr.C.Rajagopalachar writes in Mr.Gandhi's organ. Young India'. In the anger of the moment, Hinduism in Punjab seems to have lost her balance, and is lashing herself into fury. Hinduism feels that Islam has not stood bravely by her afflicted children of Multan. She feels called upon to assert herself and show her strength and to rebel against the restraints imposed by the congress in the name of national unity. The depth and genuineness of this feeling cannot be denied. I have seen enough even in the all too short stay that I made in the province to convince me that this anger is genuine, deep, and widespread.

Leaders like Mr.C.Rajagopalachari delude them-

selves into wonderful beliefs about popular enthusiasm for Swaraj, and unity, and non-violence, and non-co-operation and mutual tolerance, and so an and so forth, when all the time the only enthisiasm that counts is the old religious enthusiasm, inmate and ineradicable. We are glad to see that New India" does not hide the truth from itself on its readers. It expresses its view frankly. "Mr.C. Rajagopalachari's account of the situation in the Punjab, reinforced by the report to day of a riot of a serious nature in Amritsar, is such as to make every one who looks foreward to rapid national progress feel some concern at the persistance with which communal jealousies are coming to the fore...... Mr.Rajagopalachar perceives, rightly enough, that so long as these communal discussions have life, it will be easy for the Government to play off one community against the other and strengthen its own position in the process. But why should it be blamed for confusing the issues" and for leading both Hindus and Musalmans out of the track? If the weakness is there, it is more snarly to recognise its presence and make efforts to eradicate it, than weakly to Bemoan the Slough of Despond" into which they country has descended, and hold the government responsible. On the otherhand, is it not the truth that the Government of India has forgot the introduction of the communal principle into services under its control with whole hearted zeal? Mr.Rajagopalachari lays much stress, we find, on the principle that religions should not be perverted for politics". It is a soundone, but we venture to suggest that, if it had been recognised at the begining of the Khilafat agitation, the history, both of India and of the numerous but

abortive Near East Conferences, might have been very different. The resolutions of the Gaya congress do not lead me to the inference that there was any realisation, even so recently as a few months ago, of the danger of allowing fanatical ulmas to dictate over policy and progress".

Sound advice, but the Extremists will not be the people who will succeed indi~~squencing~~versing religion from politics in India. It is more likely to be those who are co-operating in the Reforms, gaining practical experience in the councils of the work of running the country, and broadening their out look.

Hindu Muslim Hate. 17 - 4- 1923.

It is surprising, though fortunate, that India Extremists have not found some stick with which to beat the British authorities in their comments on the Hindu Muslim differences in the Punjab. It is admitted on all hards in the Indian Press that the dispute which led to the recent rioting is a genuine example of communal hatred. We are glad to have that admission, not from any pleasure we take in communal differences, but because it is right that the Indian public should recognise that there are sources of unrest in this country entirely unconnected with the presence of the British Government. The Indian Press and Extremist leaders have done their best in the last few years to hide this fact. They have talked about India as a nation; they have pretended these is unity in the great cause of India's freedom. There is no unity; there is only a superficial conspiracy to fight what they are pleased to call the common enemy"; Below the surface communal prejudices are as real as ever, far more real than the alleged racial prejudice of the British in India. Malabar, Multan, and Amritsar have been most unkind shocks for the advocates of Swaraj. India under the Indians would be many times worse than Ireland under the Irish. We hope that the Punjab animosity will held Indians to see that, and to understand a little more clearly why Great Britain is granting Reforms gradually. She sees the dangers of self-government in India more clearly than Indians, with their caste and religious differences, can possibly do, because each and every one of them from birth is biassed against his neighbour. The

spirit of democracy is foreign to their nature, it can only take root after years of cultivations. Similarly, nationalism must be a plant of slow growth in a country with over 200 vernacular languages. "Swarajya writes: "The extremely deplorable situation that has arisen in Amritsar must cause infinite heart scarching in every true nationalist". What is a true nationalist"? A Hindu, or a Muslim, or one who preaches swaraj in an alin tongue? Swarajya acknowledges that the damming inheritance of half a country of mutual jealousies and communal fights is not wiped out in a day and such incidents are bound to recur so long as even the memory of ~~the~~ those days continue. With such a background, social peace, at no time easy to maintain, because almost impossible when the Reformed Councils began to take up an open attutude of communalism. And yet Indians want full self-government immediately? Do the members of the councils honestly t ink that they could work together for the common good? Do they think that they could trust themselves, let alone the masses? A little "heart searching" would supply the answer that India is not yet safe for Indians without the help of Great Britain, that the presence of the British Government is of in estimable benefit and comfort until such time as there is a change of heart between Hindus and Muslims, Brahmins and non Brahmins, untouch-ables " and touchables.

Indians in Africa. 19 - 4 - 1923.

The growing unrest of the Indian communities in Africa, from Kenya in the North to Netal in the South, Cannot, we believe, be fully accounted for without positing the presence in each area of agitators either Indian or international, who are all consciously working with t e same object in view, and probably (if we but know the truth) working to schedule. But whatever the real reason may be, the fact is indisputable that the question of the status of Indians in both East and South Africa has suddenly looned up, a dark and menacing cloud on the horizan of Imperial politics, and the Home Government find themselves in the unenviable position of having to cast their vote either on the side of past promises to Indians made by the Government of India, and substantiated by an India office under the direction, of Mr.Montagu or on the side of the present inclinations of the colonial office whose sympathies before the most part with the arguments and appeals of the white settlers who firmly believe that the new conservative government will have the courage to break with Mr.Montagu's policy. The white settler has always held that that policy consisted in sacrificing loyalists in the African colonies with the object of propitiating irreconcideable Indian politicians. With the change in Government at Home, the white saw his chance of getting justice done to him and promptly took it; with the result that the Indian agitation has been increased a hundred fold to ensure the carrying out of pledges once given. It is a very grave dilemma and and we can be sure that the way in which the Home Government deals with the problem is being watched with breathless interest

not only by the Indian intelligentsia but by the native African population, who have their own grounds for desiring the white settlers to win and by the Government of a certain Asiatic power; while the implaceable enamies of England, Russia and Germany, will follow each step with the greatest possible interest, for their one hope and prayer is that the British Empire many sercumb to internal dissension. Our own view is that in this matter, as in that of the Reforms themselves, the Montagu regime was too precipitate. British Indians base their claim to enjoy, wherever they go within the Empire, the same political rights as are enjoyed by the British peopoel, on the wonds of the Government of India (Cmmd 1311 of 1921) "there is no justification..... for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of H.M's subjects" But, as a writer in the "National Review" points out, on the very next page of that document the Government of India records the fact that the European population of Kenya enjoys adult subbrage, and adds, it may be admitted at once that the Indian community is not ripe for adult suffrage". The two sentences flatly contradict each other and merely prove, it seems to us, how hopeless it is in this world to base policies on undigested sentimentalities.

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India a Nation. 26 - 4 - 1923.

The hollowness of the claim of Indian nationhood is illustrated in the situation in North India. The Hindu - Muslim riots in Amritsar have been followed by either-Muslim and Hindu Muslim riots in the United Provinces. The congress leaders who, we were told, were rushed up to the Punjab because of their superior wisdom to settle the communal dispute, have failed to reach an agreement. And so it must be, despite the boasting of so called "Nationalists", until India has served further apprenticeship to the ideal of "when none is for a party, but all are for the State" communal hatred is too ancient, communal jealousies are too deep seated, to be cured in a few years. The Reforms, under British control, were exactly what has required to test the unselfishness of the two great religious communities in India, their willingness to co-operate with each other for the good of all rather than squable about the spoil of office each should get. So far they have failed to pass the test. But if Nationalists' fail to agree how can mere party man be expected to agree? It is unreasonable to ask it. The Reforms necessarily have given scope for communal jealousies to show themselves, It could not be helped . Providence, as the Hindu observes, has thrown Hindus and Muslims together, and they have to lie as neighbours whether they will or not". It is for them to rise superior to their differences. If they cannot

do so under the favourable stimulers of a common enemy", as they are pleased to call us, what would they do in the absence of a common enemy? An era similar to that of the Guelphs and Ghibbilives, or worse, would begin in India. Has the grant of self government to Ireland brought peace, prosperity and progress? Would India like to resolve her differences under the Pax Britenica, or fight them out in the market place and adopt the law of the survival of the fittest. Hindus and Muslims now have an opportunity - the best opportunity they have ever had - of proving their mutual worth. Great Britain, far from a policy of divide and rule", has given them that opportunity, they fall to quarelling among themselves. No wonder the Hindu weaps." Once the rival communities reopen their eyes to the greater problems of Indian~~xxxx~~ life, they will be ashamed, we doubt not, ~~of their life, they will be ashamed, we doubt not,~~ of their fight over things that laid to seperate and not to unify. They will certainly not desire to create a situation to which Anglo-India delights to point as an argument for the interminable presence of the Britisher in India. The exigencies of the policy of"divide and rule" make these people ever alert in exploiting, if not in creating, diversity of interests in the nation, and it would be extremely foolish to play into their hands by thoughtless fassiparousness.... ....It is tragic to think that the attainment of Swaraj is delayed almost as much by ourselves as by the British governing class".

It is tragic, but it is true and unavoidable, because India is India. Great Britain has been

trying to impress upon Indians the need for delay from the first, it is now begining to dawn on the "Hindu".

Serious news is published today of murders of in the Punjab by a hand of Akalis who, it is said, have been, denounced by the Parbandbak committee. An notoriously Bolshemik leaflet has been circulated, inciting soldiers to murder their officers and calling a the people to Kill foreigners and establish a free government! We may be sure that these Akalis have no more love for Hindus and Mussalmans than they have for Britishers, and that the free Government' would be something like the free Government of Bokhara. The seditious speeches and writings of Extremists, sikhs and others encourage the formation of such bands. Andiceces and readers assimilate the daily outpourings of hate; the pupils better their instruction. Non-co-operation are poor psycologists if they honestly think that the teachings of non-violence will result in non-violence. Their doctrines and non-violence are in compatible, while human nature remains what it is.

<u>The Unity Bubble.</u> 30 - 4 - 1923.

We congratulate Mrs.Sarojini Naidu on having the courage to admit that "until the communal problems of the Punjab are settled it is useless to pretend that the work of Swaraj can be carried on with any degree of success". The unity bubble that congress below up with such waste of breath has burst. We are back to realities. Hindus and Muslims, in the very midst of the attempt to stir up anti British feeling at the fourth anniversary of Jallianvalla Bagh, have shown that they hate each other with an enthusiastic hate. Even the awful memory of general Dyer was insufficient to overcome that hate. The police and the army were welcomed in Amritsar during the recent riots! Congress leaders have done their utmost to reconcile the communities. Unfortunately congress leaders themselves are either Hindus or Muslims, and then their true feelings everage. Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, a well-known congress and Khilafat leader is reported to have said the other day: "the Mohomedans have got a right to live in India. They do not want to live here as the vanquished, but as the dominent people. They wish to live like the rack which smashes to pieces anything that strikes against it". There we have the truth. The fact that Hindus number 68 percent of the population of India and Mahomedans only 21 percent is ignored. Hindus have been gulled and forled and used as tools to support the Khilafat agitation. Now that Mustappa Kenal has most unkindly knocked the bottom out of the agitation. Muslims Extremists in India are with-

without an occupation and come forth into the pure light of sincerity. Mr.C.R.Das states that Muslims in the Punjab claim 56 percent of the seats in the Legislative council, Municipalities, and District Boards, and posts in Public officers and the University. The Hindu view is that according to the Lucknow compact Muslim can only have 50 per cent and that as the Sikh are now claiming 30 per cent, the Muslims proportion should be reduced below 50 per cent. A pretty quarrel, but a serious one, one that goes to the root of self-government in India, one that was xxxxxxxxx bound to come and one that will spread all over India. The Punjab is the political pulse of India: it has given unmistakable signs of a collapse of the whole system, with the inevitable results. Another riot is reported to day, in Multan, The collapse is regrettable in so far as it spoils the opportunities offered by the Reforms: it is welcome in that it reveals Hindus and Muslims to themselves and proves the wisdom of British policy. Would anyone now ~~would any one~~ contend that the Punjab is fit to govern itself? We fancy that sober Indians in the North are saying to themselves, "Thank God, the British are still here." It is a tragic and to Gandhism: all the saint's horses and all the saint's men will not put Dumpty together again. Unity, if it comes, will be the result ~~of empirical wisdom gained in the hard school of apprenticeship~~

again. Unity, if it come, will be the result of empowerical wisdom gained ~~by~~ in the hand school of apprentice-ship to duty and ~~xexpanding~~ responsibility under British ~~Xi~~ tutelage.

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The Kenya Battle. 4 - 5 - 1923.

According to a special London Cable to our Calcutta contemporary, The Englishman! the Europeans in Kenya have launched a polite but determined campaign of boycott against the Indians with the object of proving that their presence is not so necessary to the economic, business and commercial life of the colony as the Indian agitator has endeavoured to make out. While politicians negotiate, the Europeans on the spot are taking things into their own hands. They are sick to deat of negotiations and disgusted with a Hovic Government who do not seem to possess any unified Imperial policy. What's more, they have wakened to the fact that for political reasons in India, the British Government have seem fit to betray what the white Kenya settlers regard as not only their interests but the interests of the African native. They refuse to ascribe to the thesis that hence forward Indians and Europeans in Kenya shall have equal political rights Why? Because the great to Indians of an equal statuo might lead to the absorption by Indians of the whole machinery of Government, which, in the opinion of the European, would be disastrous to the native population, whose interests the British Government is bound to protect. The Indians settled in Kenya are not of the ruling castes; the Indians part in Africa has been ever that of the trader and usever operating subject to the tolerance of some other dominant race - Zimbabwe - ite, Persian, Arab Portuguese Dutch or British. It cannot be denied that the European has the truth on his side here. What pretension to rule. Africa has that low class type

of Indian when the humble of the German guns was heard on the border and who only returned to Kenya "when it became certain that the East African Indian community was tacitly regarded alike by British and German whites and by the African natives as a non-combatent factor"? However deeply we deplore the open antagonism which has suddenly darkened the relationship between European and Indian in Kenya, We cannot but confess that there is great deal of justification for the Europeans attitude. The Indian community in Kenya numbers about 30,000 How many casualities, either killed or wounded? None. In fact", writes Ewart S.Grogan, D.S.O in the National Review for April," the only war consualities suffered by this community were the deaths of spies under sentence of court martial". That presents the white settlers case in seventeen words.

Hindu- Muslim Unity. 11 - 5 - 1923.

When first the proposal was put forward by the Khilafat agitators and their congress friends, for a non-official enquiry into the causes of the Moplah rebellion, this was rightly opposed by all thoughtful people in the country. The only result of such an inquiry, it was felt, would be to rekindle old animosities and rake up old fends, making the work of reconstruction in Malabar more difficult. Gradually, the cry for a non-official inquiry became less insistent and we began to entertain the hope that both the Hindu and Muslim leaders had realised the dangers involved in their proposal and had given up the idea. It was also our conviction that the presence of such a strong man as Mr.Thorne, as collector in Malabar, had acted as a deterrent to the congress and Khilafat leaders attempting to set on foot an enquiry of the kind they contemplated. But the Indian leaders, suddenly parting company with prudence and common sense resolved on renewing the agitation for an inquiry by first organising a khilafat and then a Nationalist conference, in Malabar itself, though outside the rebel area. At both these conferences, after speeches of a violent nature had been delivered, there were co-mmittees appointed to work in collaboration and institute what was termed a searching and impartial inquiry into the causes of the rebellion. It was clear from the outset that the personnel of the committee appointed at Tellichery had a mandate given them, as it were, regarding the nature of their findings; The Nationalist conference which was held at Palghat was presided over by Mrs.Sarojini

Naidu, who was specially selected because of her close acquaintance with Islamic life and literature in India. Mrs.Naidu, with that inconsistency which in part and parcel of feminine character delivered a discourse taking a very optimistic view of the problem of Hindu Moslem unity in Malabar. Yet, just a few days previously, she had drawn a gloomy picture of the relations between these two very communities in the Punjab. We cannot possibly subscribe to Mrs.Sarojini Naidu's optimism about Malabar, considering the havoc caused by the Moplah rebels on the Hindu population, during the rebellion. The fanatics of Islam had far more free play in Malabar, and perpetrated more atrocities in the district, than anywhere else in India in recent times. And yet here is Mrs.Naidu trying to make out that Malabar had promised her a message of unity for the rest of India! We do not want to be hard on Mrs. Naidu. Always hankering after theatrical effect. She has a knock of saying things in language most flowery, with a view to win the plandits of her hearers, blissfully unmindful whether her statements are borne out by facts or not. It is obvious that both the conferences in Malabar exhibited great anxiety to make out that the utmost goodwill and peace existed today as between the Moplahs and the Hindus, and to bolster up this idea the speakers in General tried their best to make out that the Moplahs suffered more than the Hindus during the rebellion. No doubt there have been in-stances here and there of police oppression of Moplahs, and these are being vigorously dealt with by the district authorities

But becauseof a few instances of police oppression, to try to make out that the Moplahs were the greatest sufferers during the trajic days of the rebellion, which they themselves had started, is a shicking tranusty of the truth. While going to Press news reaches us from our Calicut correspondent of a riot of a serious nature between the fisher and non-fisher sections of the Moplahs. The feud is purely one between rival sections of Moslems, but lower classes of Hindus are reported to have helped the nonfisher Moplahs. The Ramzan feast is said to have something to do with provoking the disturbances. However this may be the incident only serves to show that Calculations as to a calm atmosphere in Malabar are liable to be upset when least expected.

Muddleheads. 16 - 5 - 1923.

Madras Politicians when they set foot on Malabar soil appear to get hopelessly muddlled over the history of the unfortunate Moplah Rebellion and the real facts connected there with. Dr.C. Natesa Mudelliar, the Madras Non-Brahmin leader, presiding over the first Malabar non-Brahmin conference which opened at cannonore to-day, is no exception to this rule. Absolutely unacquainted with Malabar, he has gathered together data which have induced him to make some of the most extranagant statements yet made. The non-Braahmin party are now activ ly engaged in their election wring campaign and the activity they are displaying throughout the Presidency is to be commended. But even in the conduct of an election wring contest, care should be taken that one's zeal does not over ride one's judgement, leading to an obvious distortation of facts. Dr Natesa Moodalliar, speaking of the rebellion, states:--Some attributed it to the Non-co-operation movement and others to acute a grarian discontent. But from the nature of the rebellion in which all classes and creeds have taken part, though a certain people predominated, I am led to believe it partakes of both". This is the first time we have heard it stated that all classes and creeds participated in the rebellion. The rebellion, as is well known, was an organised attempt by the Maplahs of Malabar, whose xxbxxxxxn religious susceptibilities had been exploited by xxxx unscrupulous agitators, to overthrow the Government established by law in the district and

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to set up a kingdom of their own. It was the fanatical Moplahs that broke into open revolt, and it was they who afterwards committed th most brutal atrocities upon the Hindus, hundreds of whom were murdered or forcibly converted.
There is no doubt that, in the various mobs predominently Moplahs that looted the homes of Hindu landlords, a Hindu of the Law class now and then either led by desire for plunder, or compelled by the rebells, joined in the crime, but it is a mostly different thing from saying that all classes and creeds participated in the rebellion. The attempt to boster up the clumsy fiction of agrarian discontent, at a time when the cry for tenancy legislation is loudest in Malabar, can only be explained as an electioneering trick. Dr.Natesa Mudaliar who is well known as a lover of ~~xxxx~~ Law and order and as a steam of advocate of the Judiciary, appears to have entirely overlooked the considered finding of the eminent judges of the Malabar special ~~special~~ tribunals, based upon evidence recorded upon oath, that the Moplah rebellion was the direct and proscimate cause of the Khilafat agitation among the fanatics of Malabar. What ground is there for challenging this judicial decision and for introducing the myth of agrarian discontent as one of the pronounced causes of the rebellion? It is a pity Dr.Natesan did not refrain from expressing his opinion on this subject for it counteracts the value of many very proud statements made by him about other matters in his address.

Anglo-Indians. 25 - 5 - 1923-

There has been a great deal of discussion lately and a large amount of correspondence appearing in the newspaper throughout India regarding the status under the Reforms, of the Anglo-Indian community. This sudden activity among and wakeful interest of Anglo Indians regarding their future has undoubtedly been produced largely by the shock of realising that under the Reforms scheme there is a tendency for the Europeans gradually to vacate India, and the Anglo Indians are naturally anxious as to what their position is likely to be when the European has departed forgood. Now while we welcome the efforts being made to destroy the deadening apathy which has characterised the life of the community in the past, we do not appreciate their cause. It seems to us that Anglo India is in needless panic, and that in that panic she is displaying a very weak side of her character. "The Europeans are going," she cries, "is not it dreadful? what ever shall I do? But are the Euroepans going? And even if they are going, why should it be dreadful for Anglo India? Is the cry a confession that the Anglo-Indian are in capable of standing on their own legs? If so, let them busy themselves in making those legs stronger instead of worrying themselves about what they are going to call themselves. We deprecate the growing idea that no one can hope to exist in India who does not belong to some district group of community or sect. That is such an artificial road to achievement. A community is not great because it has a good name. Its good name is the result of the enterprise and work of the individuals who happen by chance to belong to it. What does it really matter to the Anglo-Indians what they are called- Europeans, Anglo Indians on Eurasians so-long

as they make an effort to give their sons a good education and near them nobly? In the India of the future, as we see it, the west men are going to get to the top, no matter of what race or caste they are. There will ever be intercaste and interclass jealousies, and with the departure of the European from public office there is going to be a lowering in government effeciency and a stupendons amount of administrative muddle. Nevertheless, a certain standard of effeciency will be demanded, and those individuals who can supply it will be choosen to guide not always perhaps in the lime ligt) and given the important positions in goverment and industry. It may be an effeiciency of quite a different stamp and in striving for positions in the future the Anglo Indians may find it necessary to change their out look. That depends on whether the Eastern or the Western type of culture will predominate. If the Western type remains, the Anglo Indians, should excel more easily than they farcy, if the Eastern type filters back, then Anglo Indians must be prepared to have their western corners knocked off. The important thing for them to realise now is that a community as such is of no consequence unless it consists of individuals who have trimphled in life through their own efforts.

Non-Brahmins at Loggerheads. 26 - 5 - 1923.

The split in the non-Brahmin party which resulted in the adjournment sinedie of the Second Session of the South Indian N n-Brahmin workers conference this morning, seems to be most unfortunate, occuring as it does just before the general election. The incident cannot be treated lightly for serious allegations were made which call for some explanatory statement from the accrediated leaders, who, we feel sure," will not allow these allegations to go unchallenged. If the rapture took place at a trumpedy or irresponsible meeting, the accusations might perhaps be treated with contempt, but it was at a workers conference of which ample notice was given to all concerned and at which the veteran leader, Sir P.Theagaraya chetty, and the party's great debator, Mr.C.R. Reddy, were expected to be present and to sepak, that the unseemly and regrettable fiasco took place. The existence of differences between the members of the party was drawn attention to in a letter from no less a personage than Rao Behadur T.A.Ramalinga chettirar, M.L.C., one of the leaders who referred to the autocratic tendency" of some of the members who were attempting to retain all the power in their hands. A letter coming from such a source is not to be ignored. As for Mr.J.N.Ramanathan, he levelled serious charges against the leaders, as chairman of the Reception Committee, which must have been most distasteful to them, for it was in the middle of his speech that Sir P.Theagaraya chetty left the hall, followed by others, and, immediately afterwards,

~~it was resolved to adjourn the~~

it was resolved to adjourn the conference. It would be most impolitic for the leaders of the non-Brahmin party to let the accusations against them go unchallenged, and we look for some responsible statement from them in refutation or by way of explanation of the statements which brought about the disolution of the conference.

Humpty - Dumpty. 31 - 5 - 1923.

The Great Indian congress is in a hopeless mass. If our readers will take the trouble to follow which is going on we can assure them that they will be highly amused at the way leaders and parties and newspapers are floundering about. And like precocious children they regard themselves with a seriousness which is pathetic. Each section is making frantic efforts to justify itself, and some are trying to save the face of Humpty Dumpty by ridiculous attempts to cover up what is obvious. The only honest men among then seems to be Mr-Rajagopalachariar, ex-General Secretary of the Congress, who says: 'The Compromise resolution of the All India congress committee nullifies the Gaya congress resolution, the primary purpose of which was to defeat the elections of this year. It is futile to claim that the congress resolution remains untouched. When every step is taken to make it a dead letter. The resolution of the congress and the All India congress commitee's compromise cannot stand together except by casuistry..... They must reject the All India congress committee's decision and choose to be loyal to the congress........He can not submit to the total reversal of the policy of the boycott of councils throughout India.

It is necessary to explain that the recent meeting of the All India congress committee in Bombay" secured it necessary that congress men should close up their ranks and present a united front"! They accordingly pass a compromise" resolution, suspending council boycott propaganda, which is the gaya congress policy. The "United front" then proceeds to split up once more. Mr.Rajagopalachariar and the working committee, who are against council

entry and in favour of the Gaya policy, resign, as also does Mr.C.R.Das.President of the congress, who is in favour of council entry. The new working committee issue a communique pretending that everything is all right ("the mendate of the congress maintaining the boycott remains untouched") while Mr.Rajagopalachariar tells the truth and Mr.Das comes down to Madras and says he is sure the country will listen to him! "If the country has not listened to me yet, I have no hesitation in proclaiming to the world that the country will listen to me in the near future. It is sad to see greatness go unrecognised. It is really unkind of the local Bolshemisk firebrand", Swarajya", to write like this "there is little doubt what ever that the council party has not long to wait for its disallusionment. The ultimate fate of this party, likethat of our Liberal friends, will sooner or later justify the decision of the Gaya congress which is now suspended". But it is not suspended, there is no compromise - both parties that agreed to the compromise have resigned! There is a new working committee in the congress who say that everything is all right. Take away the number you first thought of.-

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Swaraj. 9 - 6 - 1923.

The Swaraj party is indeed in a bad way. Even its supporters do not know what it means! Volunteers who earn "annas four per day from Mahatma Gandhi", want Swaraj, but can not explain why. Where are the instructors? What has happened to the propaganda organisation? Surely meetings ought to be held regularly to tell the ignorant masses how disgracefully they are being treated by the British Government, how they are suffering in the slavery under the bureaucracy, how freedom and liberty are trampled under foot? Again, we are driven to the conclusion that the printing presses are not doing their work, that leaflets explaining the tyranny of the Government of India are not being issued at the rate that they should be. Otherwise prisoners at Nagpur would not plead: "I want swaraj, but I don't know what it is", and, the only reason why I want swaraj is because every-gone else wants it. I don't know what swaraj' is, I am dissatisfied with the present Raj". The reason for the slackness in Swaraj work is plain when we turn to Swarajya'. The writer of yesterday's first leading article , who contrary to journalistic custom, we are informed is T.Prakasam, after referring, t the fourteen months, isolation of Mahatma Gandhi (we thought that Swarajaya' objected to titles) inquires of his readers. "What have we done? Our record has been one of continued strife and dissensions in our own ranks". So that is the trouble! "Swarajya" itself is so Boshemistic that in another place (annonymously) it talks about some of its own people as "rebels". Really, that is not the way to further its cause. Swarajya' must improve its ways if India by united effort is to obtain swaraj. We are sorry that it is so

dissatisfied with things - almost as dissatisfied with the future rulers of India as the poor Nagpur prisoner is with the present Raj! Its attitude is not a good example to the Punjab Hindus and Muslims whom it was lecturing recently for disagreement seriously, though, we would not like Swarajya' to change: it provides us daily with amusement.

Beware of Mr.C.R.Das. 12 - 6 - 1923.

We believe that the new regulations for the conduct of elections, including the rulefs in connection with nomination and polling, have been framed by the Madras Government and that they will be published very shortly for General information. We also understand that the General Elections, as already announced, will take place about the middle of October, so the new Legislative council may be expected to be in session from the x 1st week of November. Presumably, therefore, the new Ministery will have to be formed in the last week of October, if not earlier. It is thus time that the work of convassing for the elections commenced at once, since candidates have just a little more than three months before them. Unforeseeen developments may be expected, we thing, as a result of the vigorous propaganda work imitiated by Mr.C.R.Das and his followers, who are making a serious effort to capture the electorate in this Presidency, a feat which was until recently considered to be well nigh impossible. It is instructive to notice that, with the sagocity of the trained politician, Mr.Das is addressing his appeal directly to the non-Brahmin electorates. While he is astute enough to suggest the continuance of that Party as such, he is side-tracking it along lines of activity very different from those which are at present the objectives of the Party. xx

In well-informed quarters, it is anticipated that this new orientation will make for perceptible changes in the electoral prospects, certainly in some of the districts in the Northern circars and, perhaps also, in the Tanjore and Madras districts in the South.

It was a cute stroke of policy to enlist in the Swarajya Party the services of one of the Justice Party propagandists, Mr.J.N.Ramanathan, who is none acting as a faithful henchman of the Bengalee leader and is parappresing in vigorous and difinite invective and generalities of his new chief. A phenomenon more significant, however, than the marchalling of forces by men like Mr.Ramanathan is the circumstance that Mr.R.K.Shanmughan chetty, M.L.C. one of the lovingmen in the Justice Party and a man of considerable means and talent, who was formerly a council secretary and has been recently elected a Party whip, finds himself in alliance with Dr.P.Varadarajulu Nayudu, the enfant terrible of the congress camp, whose charges of conviction are as notorious as the temporary favour with which he holds them. These two persons have issued a joint appeal to their non-Brahmin friends in this Presidency to reorganise the Party and envisage a new policy in the campaign of the boycott - of - councils- from with in the council which is the ideal of the Swarajya Party.

In this conviction, we may be pardoned for stating that it would be impolitic on the part of the present leaders of the Justice Party merely to ignore or effect to despire these symptoms. It is not the personality of their opponents which counts for much; it is the contagious character of the doctrines that are being preached by them now. Mr.C.R.Das has, with one eye on the Indian elections and another on the labour party in England, sounded to Communist trumpet and is calling upon the workmen to finish the reign of aristocrats and the middle classes. Perhaps this policy is due to a lively consciousness of what is behind to

what ~~is behind~~ to be the main weakness of the present leaders of the justice group, namely, their gradual but none the less sure loss of touch with the labour classes on the one hand and the depressed classes on the other, as evidenced by the attack directed against them by the soi disant' workers' representatives, and by the equally vehement diatribes of men represented and led by Mr.C.Raja, t e latter of whom, it is behind, waited in deputation on His Excellency the Governor some time ago, with a long printed petition detailing the tergi nersations of the Party in Power and their alleged lack of sympathy with the aspirations and prospects of the Adi Dravidas.

What we wish to emphasise, in conclusion, is this. The present political conditions in this Presidency are pregnant with possibilities of Kaleidoscopic change even without any extraveous factors or forces at work. There has been a fairly perceptible desire on the part of a large section of Brahmins to stand aloof from the present elections, not merely because they realise their inability to make their position felt in the council but also for the reason that they want to leave the line clear for the formation of an opposition Party from the ranks of the Non-Brahmins themselves. Signs are not wanting, as were recently seen, of a revolt among the younger men in the Party. As if these were not enough, the tour of Mr.C.R.Das from one end of the Presidency to the other and his electioneering speeches, coupled with the influence he commands as one of the

as one of the leading publicists of India, introduce a further element of uncertainly about the future, which must be taken seriously by the leaders of the Non-Brahmin Party, if their ranks are not to be weakned and if they are to maintain their solidarity of political action.

Candid criticism. 18 - 6 - 1923.

Dr.Ansari, the newly elected President of the All India Congress and central Khilafat committee, sees further and cleverer than the mob of Indian Press writers and politicians who fight among themselves, do not know what they want, but will not be happy till they get it. He told Indians quite plainly that it is absurd for them to talk of winning swaraj without complete inter-communal unity. Any ordinary fool, of course, could have seen that: but the extremists are such extraordinary foods that they play into the hands of their enemeies (our humble selves and others) by fighting like cats and dogs, scratching each other's eyes out. As we have pointdd outbefore, if the Gandhites, Dasites, Ansarites, Ramagopalachariates, Hindus, Muslims Brahmins, non Brahmins etc., etc., cannot agree in the face of a common enemy, what would they do if that enemy - the tyrannical British Government, were withdrawn? The result would be the bloody independence which Swarajaya would prefer to the present state of affairs. There are at least five parties, up to the present among those who are clamouring for swaraj, among those it remembered, who glibly, use the words 'nationa','democracy', and freedom, among those who preserve the caste system, among those who do nothing to remove the stigma of untouchability, who have among their own countrymen pariahs and infidels! Let them remove the bean from their own eye before they talk about the mote in the British eye. There is the anti-council party; there is the compromise party, there are the Hindu, there are the Muslims. It is indeed a "Peace of death that the Union Jack has guaranteed to us "(as Swarajya says) if all these fierce opponents are going

go fight each other to the bitter end. We do not for one moment expect our advice to be taken, but we respectfully suggest that they would be more usefully employed - as the despired Indian Liberals are employed - in doing something for their country, in learning the art of Government in mixing and working with aliens who, what ever their faults at least have inherited an impartial public spirit, a love of justice, a love of true liberty (not the Bolshemist kind) and a love of peace, prosperity and progress. Swarajya wants to run before it can walk, at all costs, and because it can not get its very in acts like a spoilt child. We have all been through that stage; a little knowledge is a dangerous thing; it will learn wisdom in time, the years will bring the philosophic mind to Indians who have forgotten their philosophies. Perhaps, also, Indians will some day be grateful for what great Britain has done for this country for railways, for industries, for telegraphs, for buildings, for instruction - all permanent wealth, which cannot be removed from the country when we go, and which has been supplied at the cost chiefly of British capital, because Indians will not invest their money in their own country. The obvious retort which Swarajya' would give is that the British investor and capitalist and the European here are getting a good return on their money. It is true. But Indians are getting a good return on British money, because they preper to hoad their own or turn it into jewellery. They are very pleased to be able to use the railways wounded by Western capital and profit by the civilisation which great Britain has introduced. We do not expect any gratitude from Indians - it would be contrary to the nature of some of them to give it but an appreciation of the

facts should not be beyond their conprehension. Of conrse they might have produced a much finer civilisation, a much happier state of affairs if Great Britain had never come to India; on the other hand they might not. It is profitless to conjecture: Europeans and Indians have to accept the position as it is India is on the whole peaceful, prosperous and progressive after British accupation. Indians are now getting a large and increasing share in the Government of the country - but India must be made safe for the Indians, that is the 318,000,000. Nominees of papers like Swarajya' would exploit the unfortunate masses unmercifully, as the Bolshemiks, its friends, exploited the Bokharans Great Britain, by promising the gradual and progressive realisation of responsible Government, hopes to be able to ensure the safety and interests of the three hundred millions, the untouchables, the outcastes, the inarticulate. Will educated Indians be worthy of the great trust Great Britain has borne when the time comes for services not self? Will the poor villager respect them as much as he respected his old English district officer? There should be only one answer to that question if Indians want Swaraj.

Flag Movement Fizzling out. 11 - 7 - 1923.

We are glad that the authorities at Nagpur are determined to put a stop to what the Nationalists call "the defence of the National Flag". "It is evident that Nationalist volunteers have been beaten up not only from various parts of Northern India but also from Madura and Rajamundry in the Madras Presidency, to take part in a demonstration which, if unchecked, would lead to carelessness and disaustrous consequences. That this dangerous movement is receiving the support of the Nationalist leaders cannot be denied. Dr.Ansari, speaking on July 3 said." Under the guise of prohibiting processions the Government are aiming an attack on national self respect by insulting our flag. Every province must therefore do its Share by enlisting volunteers and assisting in the struggle of the flag at Nagpur and elsewhere. "And that eloquent patriot of this Presidency, Mrs.Sarojini Naidu, moved a resolution, which was carried by the All India congress committee with cheers, in these terms."This committee records its deep appreciation of the steadfast and determined resistance offered by the brave satyagrahies in defence of our National flag at Nagpur. It was also resolved to cary the campaign to a successful issue. With so much encouragement from high quarters it is not surprising that the volunteers are plunging headlong into the movement. It is all very well to talk of the interference of the citizen's right of free passage over the public road, but is it liberty to use the King's high ways that the satyagrahis are claiming? The whole movement appears to us to be a share imposture engineered and driven to all lengths against the Government and the European residents under the hollow pretext of

enforcing respect for the National flag. We do not wish to give undue prominence to a mischievous movement of this kind. The recent arrests have evidently had a salutar effect and have broken the back of the agitation. We congratulate the authorities of Nagpur on the success they have so far achieved and on their determination to enforce order. It was the hesitation of the authorities in Madras to nip the spread of the Malabar Khilafat agitation in the bud that brought about revolution and much bloodshed in the end.

Enemies of the Empire.

12 - 7- 1923.

We congratulate the Legislative Assembly heartily on rejecting by large majorities the recommendations for the release of Gandhi and others convicted of behaviour inimical to the preservation of law and order in this country. The measure of a people's fitness ~~the~~ to govern is their sense of the value of law and order; the measure of their unfitness is their support of those who incite uneducated mobs to murder and violence. The movers and supporters of the resolutions in the Assembly are not better in reality than our local Bolshmist friend Swarajya", who openly avers that it would any day prefer the bloodstained savagery of our country' in its independence to the peace and justice of India under foreign rule" in other words bloody independence to peaceful dependence. Of the two we like the promoters of Swarajya better than the Assembly minorities, because the former have the courage to carry uncivilised ideas to their logical conclusions. We know what we, would have to fall. revolution and bloodshed - if Swarajya had its way, and we could deal with it accordingly. Those members of the Legislative Assembly who would like Gandhi the Ali brothers and Lajpat Rai released, try to make out that it would make no difference to the political progress of India if they were free. Swarajya and those who think like that ~~washipper~~ worshipers of Moscoue know that if these agitators were released bloodshed and disorder would have the stimulus which, thank god, they now lack. The record of what followed their activities is sufficient proof Mr.Sashagiri Iyer appealed to the Government" in the name of himanity and statesmanship to release the prisoners and also in the interests of

of peace and good will"! The mentality of such a man is uncomprehensible to us. The processes of his mind would be laughable were they not so tragic. Can he point to anything that Gandhi did in the interests of peace and goodwill? On the other hand we can point to riots, murders and race hatred as a direct result of Gandhi's teachings while he was at large and the collapse of non-co-operation since his incarceration. What do those who voted for release want? Do they want the disappearance of co-operation and ordered progress? Or do they want bloody independence, as 'Swarajia' does ? Is the letter we wish they would be honest and say so. If the former then it is beyond our capacity to see how the release of those who brought death and destruction in India and would bring further death and destruction, would promote their desire. We are surprised at the leader of the Democratic Party allying himself with a policy which is playing into the ~~plaxing~~ hands of the enemies of the people - those who like the Bolshemiks, believe that the end justifices the means, that, democracy is safe for the world (when it is nothing of the sort, let alone for India), that any form of selfgovernment(power is a substitute for good government.) Some of these enemeis of the people one honest fanatics, whose vision is limited, who do not see life steadily and see it whole", Both schools of thought are equally mischievous among millions who are unable to judge fro themselves. When their presence becomes dangerous they must be safeguarded. On the subject of Gandhi a majority of the councillors, we are glad to see, do know their duty.

Mr.Montagu's Return visit. 20 - 7 - 1923.

Mr.Montagu is coming to disturb the pathetic contentment of the masses in the new year, and to test the fulfilment or otherwise, we suppose, of his hope that in the turmoil of the elections the great charm of Indian courtesy will not disappear". Here is an incurtime to the congressites, the Dasites, the Rajagopalacharis, the Gandhites, the Liberals and all the castes and creeds which go to make up this great continent of Anuning life. Mr.Montagu will expect to find Hindu and Muslim, non-co-operator and co-operator, Brahmin and non-Brahmin, congratulating each other on the success with which they have kept each other out of the councils, on their good humoured and public spirited rivalry and on their imperishable determination, to uphold, whatever may befall, the motto of the nation, Toujours la politesse'. Through all the disputes between parties, through all the differences of principle, method and aim which animate the efforts of her varied peoples, tinker, tailor, soldier, sailor, rich man, poor man, beggerman,--", it is remarkable how love binds all together, how family affection compels the most unselfish natives, how rampat the solial instinct is, and how examplified for all the world, to see is the ideal of unity indiversity. 'Swarajya' and 'Justice' the local representatives of Bolshevism and justice, may scratch eachother's eyes out! but it is only that the other may see the more ~~surely~~ surely a kindness to the honourable opponent and a service to the people. The Indian fanatic, encourages by arm chair critics, will go out of his way to die or suffer in jail for his countrymen, and if he mistakes the triumph of his ideas - well, that is an enthusiasm which no self-respecting

Nationalist will check. Mr.Montagu will see the seed that he planted bourgeoned and fruitful - a tree laden with the weight of importance of office and opportunity He will see factor after faction striving to educate themselves and the electorate, not envious of an alien race, nor craving for power or pelf, but filled with an overmastering desire to coalesce the ideals of three hundred million souls and carry on to perfection the work begun by others. Six years will have passed since he left these shores after a mountous visit - six years in which" the genuins of the Indian people" - (who are they?) has risen to heights of eloquence and enterprise only equalled by the depth of their courtesy. Perhaps patience will come next.

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The Viceroy's speech. 30 - 7 - 1923.

In all except his reference to Kenya the Viceroy pronounced a wise and memorable oration at the obsequies of the first Legislatve Assembly of the Indian Parliament, constituted under the Government of India Act 1919. He brought members back to a sense of proportion, he pointed out the contrast between Reform and pre Reform days, he showed them that they have done real things during the last three years. In the keeness of their disappointments members of the Legislative Assembly have been apt to forget the positive results of their labours. They have been helped to forget them by the Extremists and the Extremist Press, who are interested in casting discredit on their work and in drawing red herrings across the tract of progress. The one lesson which Indian politicians who have the interests of India at heart - the Extremists have only a selfish craming for power - have to learn is patience. It is difficult, it is easy to preach and very hard to observe. It is especially different when prejudices are involved, when energetic youth is up against age, wh n passion mistakes itself for reason, when people, think that they could cure evils so much better and more quickly than other people. Modern Indians have to remember that the nation which has established the mightiest Empire the world has ever seen has forgotten more about government than modern Indians ever know. Indians can not claim credit for ancient civilisations which have disappeared, any more than modern greeks or modern Italians could claim glory for ancient greece or Rome. Greeks or Italians would not be so foolish as to make such a claim.

Some Indians appear to think that because they or rather, a section of the forefathers of the present 300,000,000; there is no such entity as an "Indian" - had magnificent civilisation in the pasts they are automaticically qualified for democratic government to day. Do responsible thinkers seriously believe that democracy - real democracy would be safe for India? The suggestion, of course, is laughable . Even the present electorate and past and potential representatives need education, training and experience. For the best results patience is essential: Cramming is useless. The British Government know that time is the essence of the contract, that precipitate haste would endanger the trust we hold, the interests of the inarticular masses, the interests, for example, of the Adi Dravidas, let down by Non-Brahmins we venture to think that the members of the Legislative Assembly who are retiring ~~at the Legislative Assembly who are retiring~~ at the forthcoming disolution feel, if they are honest ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ with themselves, that they have learnt a great deal in the last three years that the time has not been wasted, that they are more competent than they were. After ten years they will have learnt quite a lot what is ten years in the life of a nation? Hindus and Muslims, however, have yet to form a nation. As the viceroy reminded them, the half way house has almost been reached. Are they any nearer unity than they were in 1919? or are religions and castes farther apart? That is for Indians to say.

The Viceroy's reference to Kenya were, in ~~xxxx~~ our opinion, unnecessarily sympathetic to India. The decisions for the future good of kunja colony. The British Government, after exhaustive consideration,

have made up their mind; there is an end of the matter. Indians have to accept the decisions, and the Government of India, have to accept the decisions. We can not see any injustice in them. Communal representation is as in India; the High lands for Europeans is in fulfilment of a fifteen years old pledge and is climatically right; immigration control is not only to apply to Indians; segregation is not to be allowed. The viceroy was right in condemning retaliation. Speaking of Indians overseas be asked; will their position be improved politically and materially by steps in the nature of retaliation? May it not have an opposite effect and make their situation more difficult? Had Indians ever thought of that?

Maribund. 7 - 8 - 1923.

Eleven young men from Trichinopoly were arrested at Nagpur on Saturday last. They had made the hot and dusty journey from the South in order to becomes residents in one of India's jails. They had, like many other volunteers" been lured into making their foolish journey by false stories of the good time they would have in the jail, by equally false statements regarding the political situation in India and, doubtless, by the sense of adventure inmate in most youths. Their fares and food enroute were paid for by funds obtained by South Indian Extremists from equally foolish people, and the result of their trip will be for the "volunteers", a rude awakening to the folly of listening to men who portrary jails as desirable hostels while carefully avoiding taking lodging in ~~thm~~ themselves and to the falsity of Extremist propaganda generally. What they will ultimately do depends in large measure on the degree of intimidation which the Extremists are able to bring to bear on them. The Extremists know that the "Flag" crusade, a "Madhatter" scheme from the first is now dismully expiring. They are, therefore, as news from Nagpur shows, using every means to bolster up their dying cause.

These efforts are certain to fail. The"Flag compaign was doomed from the first, being too absurd to succeed. The agitators cast their net far and wide. All India is scoured to secure young men foolish enough to sacrifice themselves for a false cause. Let us observe what happens! A short while ago 18 volunteers' left Madras to join the 'Flag' army. Six, on arriving at Nagpur, promised to be good boys and furnished security

for their good behaviour. Four apologised on conviction and executed personal Lords, this despite the remonstrances of Extremist leaders. These volunteers' were Home sick and probably not a little heart sick at the deception practised upon them. They wanted to go home, and said so. The men who gave security, sought help from their supposed enemies, the Government, rather than go to their professing friends, the Extremists, for help. Ill-treatment was all they expected from the Extremists, and with reason, but a representative of the Government gave them food and the means to return to their homes. The reasons given by these men reveal the meanness of the methods adopted by Extremists to secure volunteers' for the most rediculous political movement of modern times. The movement should have been killed by the ridiculous of sober minded Indians the moment it saw the light. But it has been allowed to go on, causing much misery and great suffering to many young and foolish men. Political opponents of the Extremists have no reason to deplore such adventures from a political point of view. They afford the most convincing evidence of the limitations of the Extremists' political capacity and of the poverty of their invention. It is the duty of all (2) lawful citizens to do their best to prevent the young men of India being duped by a party which takes advantage of the natural idealism of youth for base purposes, this sowing the seeds of suspicion and distrust.

Non-Brahmin Differences. 20 - 8,- 1923.

Were the reasons for the differences apparent in the Non-Brahmin camp less ignoble than it really is we should welcome then as a sign that the Party's following is begining to think for themselves instead of following sheeplike the policy of a leader. It is impossible, however, to enthuse about differences form of jealousy and a desire for the loaves and fishes of the office. It is true that the Non-Brahmin Party as a whole is avowedly out to secure a goodly share of the spoils of office under Government for its members and supporters. The Rajah of Ramnad, President of the Tamil Nadu Non.Brahmin conference at Trichinopoly, gave this as one of the aims of the Party, eluding it, with more truth than wisdom perhaps, in the destructive portion of the Party's programme. For such a claim there can be no real defence. It is antogonistic to the only right principle of choosing men for office namely, the selection of the men last suited and most adequately equipped. It is no defence of a wrong policy to say that it was formerly adopted by others to the detriment of a community. That is a reason for avoiding it. Had the Non-Brahmin party avoided it, had its leaders decided that merit and merit alone should influence the government in the choice of men for office, the party would next now be faced with the menace of a split; would not now be rent with differences form of communal jealouses. As it is, it is difficult to sympathise with the leaders of the party in their endeavours to keep it intact or to approve the malcontents.

~~But while we may not approve the motives of the malcontents, itxwouldxbe~~

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But while we may not approve the motimes of the malcontents, it would be foolish to ignore the portent of their actions. Not that they were unforseen. Differences due to dis-satisfaction regarding the division of the spoils of office are inevitable in a party formed avowedly to secure the spoils. In the Tamil Non Brahmin's demand for two Ministerial appointmats in the next Council we have the natural sequel to the formation of the Party itself. The fissiparous tendency in the Party will not end with the Tamil demand. We shall see, we have already seen, castes and subcastes within the Non-Brahmin party demanding larger share of official patronage. The only logical outcome of the Non-Brahmin movement is therefore, the manning of the Government services on communal lines, each community being given positions in proportion to its numbers. It does not require much imagination to see how antogonistic to efficiency such a system would be. We do not ignore the fact that the present Non-Brahmin claims are the result of the non-Brahmins reaction against the monopoly of office enjoyed by Brahmins in days gone by We insist however, that no party could be founded on more unstable foundations than the adoption of those claims as its principal plank.

Appropos of the demand for Tamil Ministers we would ask on what grounds are Ministers chosen? The Rajah of Ramnad in his Presidential speech declared that men are chosen for high office not because they are Tamil or Telugu but on grounds such as ability, character, influence popularity and the like. A comprehensive enoug list of reasons to be sure. But S Theagoraja chett while expressing the opinion that the most deservin candidates would be appointed Ministers after th

election also informed his bearers that he had recommended the claims of the Tamil Non-Brahmins to His Excellency the Governor's attention, and added that His Excellency had promised to look into the official His Edcellency inxx choosing his ministers be guided by Parliamentary practice he will choose, he must choose, those who can command a majority in the council. His choice may be influenced by a desire to afford representation to different opinions in the majority, but his devision must primarily be guided by regard for the peramount interests of the Presidency as a whole, and the necessity for securing harmony in the Cabinet. He may seek to reconcile communal claims with a due observance of these considerations, but he cannot allow those claims to over side them.

In five we think that the proceedings of the Trichinopoly conference afford a warning to framers of new political ~~xxxxxxxx~~ parties to think well on the motives to which they appeal if they would avoid the dangers of early dissolution. And we would ~~xx~~ suggest to the Non-Brahmin leaders that differences are most innocuous when most freely discussed. Fully discussed, the rival Tamil and Telugu claims might well lead the supporters of the Party to a realisation that the hunt for the spoils of office is a poor foundation for an influential party. But India is hardly likely to be rid of such hunters until her public servants are chosen by an impartial body similar to the civil service commission in England.

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Very Liberal Demands. 27 - 8 - 1923.

It is not surprising in view of the high feeling now prevailing in political circles in India, to find that the speeches made at the liberal conference at Benares and resolutions passed there at one notable (?) more for their extremism than for thier liberal sentiments. Our report unfortunately does not give us details of the speeches made in support of the proposal that the Secretary of state for India.-- that is in effect Parliament should be divested of the right of super intendence, direction, and control of the Government of India and its revenues except for a limited period in respect of foreign, political and military policy, but unless they contained for more weightly arguments in support of the proposal than the resolution itself contains it is not likely to carry much weight with Parliament. It is true that the resolution contains no very new demand by the Liberal Party. The Party has always been opposed to the control of the Secretary of state, that is the control of Parliament, over Indian affairs. The Party desires a Central government in India entirely free, or almost entirely free, from all external control. In other words, the liberal Party wants ~~xxxxx~~ immediate complete self government for India. It considers that the working of the Government of India act during the past two and a half years justifies the demand.

The speeches may have shown how far this attitude is warrented by past events, the resolution itself does not. And get nothing is more impotant. Nobody today contests India's claim to ultimate self government Discussion now ranges around the speed of her progress to that objective, the manner of its attainment. The

~~Liberal Party would~~

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The Liberal Party would, apparently, base the rate of progress on the amount of vexation felt by Indian politicians at the restraints imposed under the Reforms Act. The framers of that Act, and Parliament itself, would have the rate of progress conform itself, ~~would have the rate of progress conform~~ to the growth of political interest and responsibility among the present electors and the unemfranchised masses in India. That cirterion for progress, so persistently ignored by the major ty of Indian politicians, is the only valid one. Had politicians in India devoted themselves sedulously to the task of educating the electors and enlightening the masses they would now have, in the existence of a politically minded electorate and awakened masses, the most unenswerable grounds for the extension of the franchise and a greater degree of self government. As it is we find, as the corallary to emparalleled excitement in political party circles, General a pathy among electors towards the ensuing elections. We find it deplored on all sides that the electons are taking very little interest in Party programmes, that personality rather than policies will decide elections, and that local influence over it and convert will have more weight with voters than the most high minded of aims.

Politicians in India have been working at the wrong end. They have been framing constitutions when they should have been busy teaching the people the grave responsibility which accompanied the possession of a vote. Instead of preaching the gospel of the importance of popular representation in the councils of the state they have been busy ridiculing and decrying those councils with the result that the populace has been led to believe that the vote is worth less, an impression that will

take corg to eradicate and would not uield ever to the immediate grant of complete self-government. And yet no one who studies what the reformed councils have acc mplished can justify all the decrying which they now receive or assert that they are valueless. Events during the past two and a half years have shown that official opinion both in England and India has been considerably influenced by the expressed opinions of India's elected eepresentatives. But until the electorate is brought a better appreciation of its responsibilities, until elections are decided on higher grounds than that of the personality of a candidate, until elected representatives are able to prove that all communities will receive fair play in a wholly self-governing India and that the grant of self-government to India will not mean the transfer of ultimate control from Parliament to an oligarchy chosen by an apathetic electorate, Parliament is not likely seriously to consider wholesale resolutions passed by parties which ignore their prime duties. To the fulfilment of these duties we would therefore urge Indian politicians to direct their principle efforts.

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An Extremist Recruit. 4 - 9 - 1923.

It is said to see a politician hitherto notable for the soundness of his views adopting Extremist creeds because he has not been able to induce others to accept his own peculiar point of view. It is still more disappointing to see this happening in the case of Right Hon'ble V.Srinivasasastri, a man who has up to the present [redacted] alone move by the soliciety of his arguments to secure a hearing for the Indian point of view in the Dominions, and Colonies, and Great Britain than any other Indian has yet been able to accomplish. If he continues in the strain of his latest utterance on the Kenya problem, Mr.Sastri bids fair to undo all the good work he has done in the past and will find himself classed among the unreasoning and unregarded who make up the Extremist Party. We trust, however, that with returning health and diminishing obsession with Kenya, Mr.Srinivasa Sastri will come to see that in moments of vexation and weakness he gave utterance to views which must harm India abroad and delay her progress at home we refer more especially to his endorsement of the policy of obstruction in the councils, the policy of the Das School of non-co-operators. After saying that the measures of retaliation adopted by the Assembly "will be necessarily rendered negatory by the Government of India". Mr.Srinivasa Sastri declares, "In taking such an attitude the viceroy and his councillors will only be increasing their own difficulties and goading the Assembly into fixed and implacable hostily which can only hasten the day of responsible government in this country". If the Government of India must "necessarily" adopt a certain course of action it is difficult to see why they should after wards be accused of goading the

Assembly into a policy antagonistic to all constitutional practice. Either Mr.Srinivasa Sastri wishes to accuse the Government of India of willfully going against the wishes of the people, an accusation which, in regard to Kenya, we will find it impossible to substantiate, or he is blaming them for adopting a line of action which they cannot avoid. In either case there is little justice in his method.

But let us consider his suggestion that by obstructing the constitutional government of the country Indian politicians will be hastening the coming of self-government to India. It is not equivalant to saying that if one of two partners in a factory obstructs the working of the factory he is proving himself fit to be the sole proprictor. Nothing could be farther from the truth and nothing more subversive of the true interests of India than to promote the growth of the idea that the best way to prove Indias fitness for self-government is to obstruct the existing government, and to decline to take full advantage of the existing power to influence that Government. We are sure that Parliament, and India's friends in Parliament, too, will not be favourably impressed by the picture of an Assembly which continually obstructs the administration of the country and refuse to make use of the country and refuses to make use of the powers already conferred upon it. That is not the way of the Labour Party in Great Britain. That Party to whom Indians look for great boans, has always emphasised the importance of constitutional methods in politics and has never disfranchised itself and its constitutents by refusing to make proper use of the powers at its disposal. And, more, Indian constitutionalists have

hitherto themselves been the chief opponents of the obstruction policy. Nothing that has happened in Kenya or elsewhere has destroyed the grounds of their opposition. If constitutionalism were wise in the past it is even more politic today.

Nor is Mr.Sastri fair to the Dominions in his utterances. He asserts that their threat to boycott the Empire exhibition was due to displeasure at a comparatively trifling arrangement made by the Exhibition authorities. He is wrong, and in calmer movements we think he would admit he is wrong. The Dominions threatened to boycott the Exhibition because the former Exhibition authorities were violating a cardinal condition that the Exhibition should be purely an Empire affair, true built, supplied, and furnished by the Empire and Empire materials. In using foreign materials the authorities were undermining the very motive of the Exhibition and the Dominions rightly objected. The Dominions have not allowed political disappointments, to decide their actions. They regard the Exhibition as an economic opportunity and it is because of this that the Exhibition has that great importance in the Empire to which Mr.Sastri refers. We repeat that if India boycott the Exhibition she will be doing herself infintely more harm than she can do others; she will be losing an opportunity for securing new and bigger markets for her products and possibily higher prices. Let Indians use reasonable and constitutional methods to represent their grievances in regard to Kenya and they will secure

a hearing and they will advance their cause, but let them not prejudice their own interests and their case by resorting to revolutionary method's and the dubious devices of the boycott and retaliation.

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Politics in India. 7 - 9 - 1923.

There is hardly a difference of opinion worth mentioning in the country regarding the goal at which India should aim with this finding of Mr.Chinthamani contained in his speech in Madras yesterday evening and reported in this issue, few in India will be disposed to quarrel. The goal before India is not new and has not been in dispute for nearly a century. Self-government for India has long been the aim of British policy here. If those responsible for the Government and administration of the country were in the past overcautious in their movements towards that goal, it does not follow that the goal was abandoned. The proper purpose of politicians in this country therefore should be not to allege backslidings but to promote progress. We have, of late, heard far too much of allegations and far too little of means to promote India's progress. Unfortunately Mr.Chintamani also failed to deal adequately with this question. He talked much about the short comings of India's present position he deplored the fact that she is not able to force the Government of India willymilly to adopte the measures of retaliation proposed by the Legislative Assembly; and dwelt much on the need for unity, or at least for the abandonment of conflict among existing political parties. He did, it is true, utter a warning against impetuous action in regard to the Kenya decision, and pleaded for earnest consideration of the various measures proposed, but since he gave his hearers no lead he failed to fulfil the duty of a leader.

Therexx is, in fact, a deplorable want of leadering manifest throughout the speech. Mr.Chintamani seems to be waiting for things to happen rather than helping to decide happenings. What does Mr.Chintamani think of the terribly suicidal proposal to boycott Britishgoods. Is that a policy which is likely to cause what he calls the indifferent British people to look kindly on India's claims? We have yet to learn that the bludgeon however wielded, is a weapon which can be used with success against the British people. And the boycott will inevitably do more harm to the workers of England and the poor of India than it can to the politicians at West minister. In other words, India's friends in England and India's most wretched inhabitants are to be hurt because certain Indian politicians conceive that the only way to win swaraj for India is by importing politics into trade. Mr. Chintamani condemns communal representation in Kenya because, he says, it has led to unfair representation. And yet he told the audience yesterday that when a minority in India is given over representation it is not pretended by anybody that the system canvoted any difference in the comparative political importance and unimportance of either of the communities affected. If this be so in India, why should it not be so in Kenya? The question is one which Mr.Chintamani will find it difficult to answer. We suggest that Indians would be far more wisely advised to demonstrate the injustice of the present proportions of representa-tion in Kenya on the basis of the taxes paid and their contri-bution to the wealth and revenue of the country than by wild assertious of racial bias and colour prejudice.

Best, however, we be accused of following. Mr.Chintamani's edample of criticising without suggesting, we would indicate a few lines along which, we think, Indian politicians might work. Mr.Chintamani declared yesterday that the people of England are supremely ignorant of India and that they were equally indifferent about it. He added, that Parliament was only slightly less ignorant and only slightly less indifferent. We would add that the Indian masses are equally ignorant, and, for the most part, are equally indifferent to the political crises. What is needed both in India and England is wide and unremitting propaganda among the masses. Indian politicians admit that it is only through the action of Parliament that their goal can be obtained. None, save the rabid Extremist, dreams that they can win self government for India by force. None, save the rabid Exrremist, ever advocates the use of force. This being so the work before Indian politicians is to educate the electorate both of India and England in their aims. This work has been gravely neglected hitherto. One organisation very foolishly concluded some time ago that no good was done by propaganda in England and closed its efforts there. Others content themselves with accasional deputations. This is not enough. Persistant propaganda, wisely organised and temperately conducted, will do more to promote the progress of India than any other method. It will be cheaper than the boycott, and far more efficacious. But propaganda in England would be worthless without persistent educative endeavours among the electorate and the masses in India. It is a disgrace to India that per masses are so disregarded by her, politicians. Our Gooty correspondent today says that

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the necessity for the education of the constituency ~~durg~~ during the years of office is a duty that has not apparently yet revealed itself to our political representatives and their opponents. This is very true. We suggest to Mr.Chintamani that he made the theme of his next speech the duty of politicians, and, refraining from destructive criticism of recent decisions, he do what he did not do yesterday, give the people a definite lead and politicians sometimely instruction.

Indian Liberals. Defended 12 - 9 - 1923.

We publish today an interview with Mr.C.Y. Chintamani, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party in India, in which he undeavours to meet the charges that the liberal Party have neglected the electorate and have avoided the question of a widely franchise. As regards the former Mr.Chintamani asserts that Liberal politicians have spent much time in rural areas advancing the welfare and political education of the masses. Such bold statements do not, however, convey conviction. It is much more important to know whether Liberal politicians, or other Indian politicians, have endeavoured to educate the electorate in the new powers and responsibilities conferred upon the people by the Reforms Act. We hear much of what the Reforms act. Does not give, but nothing of what it does. It is on this point that the electorate needs enlightment, and not the electorate only, for we make bold to say that few, if any, Indian politicians have explored the full powers conferred by the Reforms Mr.Chintamani's description of the Liberal attitude towards the widening of the franchise is in comprehensible. To our mind the extension of the franchise, is a necessary condition of the grant of further powers. That such widening should be accomplished by an increase in the number of elected representatives goes without saying, but to say that the grant of greater powers should not depend on the widening of franchise is to deny the very basis of d

~~franchise is to deny the very basis of democracy.~~ If the Liberal Party stand for the Government of India by an oligarchy chosen by an eclectic electorate, let it say so. If will find, we venture to think, little support for its views.

"An unwise course". 18 - 9 - 1923.

Having abandoned non-co-operation the Extremist Party has necessarily to justify itself by adopting someother political mostrum equally extreme and equally impracticable. So, at Delhi on Monday, the Party passed two resolutions, one appointing a committee to organise an effective campaign of civil disobedience, and another in favour of a boycott of British goods and civil disobedience and have failed. Where they have succeeded in persuading few foolish folk to adopt civil disobedience the latter have soon found that they were being made the catspaws of by clever agitators and with enlightenment has come the abandonment of the folly. The chances of civil disobedience winning popular adherence are less favourable to day than ever they were, a fact which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya sought to impress on the Delhi gathering, when declared its readoption to be "an unwise course". He failed, for it would be too much to expect the Extremists to admit two glaring misreadings of the national mind at one meeting. But in appointing a committee the Party has shelved the issue as effectively as if they had openly confessed their mistake. The resolution advocating the boycott of British goods is equally fatrous. The boycott of British goods was adopted as one of the Extremist methods of gaining their ends many months ago, but no one thought seriously to pursue it and the inquiry of the Tariff Board shows that Indians

would be penalising themselves very seriously if they tried to carryout such a boycott, and it would not be the merchants, but the consumers, the poverty sticken masses, who would pay the penality. If any proof of the poverty of Extremist ideas be needed, this attempted revival of dead methods supplies it.

Non-Brahmins and the Elections.--

1 - 10 - 1923.

Some astounding statements were made by a Non-Brahmin Secretary to the Legislative council at an election meeting held by the Party on Saturday morning. It is evident from the flattering notice which this journal received from the speech that the Non-Brahmin Party is not altogether pleased that our call to candidates for election to fulfil their duty by enlightening electors as to their programmes and policy should have a wakened the Party from the lethergy into which, by the speaker's own confession, it had lately fallen. His speech is, however, more remarkable for its arrogant assertion of the pervercy of the Non-Brahmin Party's supremacy in the council of this Presidency and the inference that since that Supremacy is assured the non-Brahmin Party can afford to ignore the electors, than for its references to ourselves. We will quote the speaker's own words. "The Madras Mail", he said," asks us (the non-Brahmins) what about our programme and takes us to task because we are not going to the country and holding meetings. I plead guilty to this. Is there any party which will set itself against us. We have not got an opponent who is worthy of our steel. If we had got such a powerful party to appose us we would then address hundreds of meetings.

There need not be election meetings, the reason is for the last $2\frac{1}{2}$ years we held a majority in the Legislative Council. Our programme is before the country, the whole record of our Party is before

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the country".

What amazing indifference to the duty of a Party is here displayed. Because the N n-Brahmin Party conceives itself to be well entrenched in office, because there is no party capable of offering a powerful opposition to the N n-Brahmin Party, that Party assumes, apparently, that it can afford to ignore the instruction of the electors. It is not enough to say that the programme and the record of that Party are before the country. Howmany of the electors know either? How many know both? The speaker contradicts himself. If the existence of a powerful opposition would make it necessary for the Non-Brahmin Party to hold hundreds of meetings, it is obvious that the programme and record of the Party are not well known and need either exposition or defence. It is absurd to say at one moment that election meetings are unnecessary because the electors know the Party's programme and work, and at another movement to say that if a powerful opposition existed hundre ds of meetings would be necessary. The fact is that the Non-Brahmin Party has hitherto relied too much on the influence of caste antagonism to win its seats. Its leaders, like Mr.Ramaswamy Mudaliar conceived that it had only to raise the cry of down with the Brahmin supremacy and its candidates would be swept into the council on a flood of non-Brahmin votes. Recent events, however, suggest that non-Brahmins are asking something more from their representatives than a mere reiteration of the cry of "Down with the Brahmins". Electors want to know what non-Brahmin candidates inten[illegible] if returned to the council, what, in sh[illegible]

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Mr.Ramaswamy Moodelliar sees this himself. He ends his speech full of allusions to the cast iron supremacy of the non-Brahmin majority with an appeal to the electors present at the meeting "not to send to the council those hostile to them (the non-Brahmins).

In conclusion, let us express our approved of the frankness with which Mr.Mudaliar expressed his views. It is will that the electorate should know just what a Party's leaders and officials think about the necessity for explaining their programme to the voters, even though, as in the present instance, the thoughts expressed are not very flattering to the electors. Let us give credit, however, where credit is due, the chairman of the meeting did not agree with the principal speaker. He believes, with us, that the electorate should be enlightened regarding the Party's views, and ~~we trust that his views, and~~ we trust that his views will henceforth prevail. We warn the Non-Brahmin Party that no political party which neglects its duty to the electorate can long ~~evidence~~ endure. To consider, as Mr.Ramaswamy Moodelliar considers, that in Madras, the opposition has no chance to come into power is fatal to any, party. It induces, as it has induced in the Non-Brahmin Party, an attitude to indifference to the electorate, a presumption of permenancy which must among any self-respecting citizen and is, in itself sufficient to cause him to vote for the opposition as a manifestation of his independence.

~~AngloxIndiansorxIndiansx~~

Anglo Indians or Indians. 12 - 10 - 1923.

Mr.Ranga Chairman's address to Anglo Indians Yesterday evening was an electioneering address and possessed much of the distinctive Flavour of such addresses. His opening phrase "Friends, fellow countrymen and fellow country women" was astutely designed to put his audience in a good humour, as any good electioneering speech should do. It is not, however, with his placentary sentences that we would deal at present but rather with the plain issue which he put before his hearers. But ~~xxxx~~ put briefly, Mr.Ranchaniar wanted Anglo Indians to come out as Indians first and Anglo Indians second he wanted them to recognise that they are sons and daughters of India, bound to her, and to the other communities of India, with indubitable ties of Kinship. This is no new call to the community, many of its friends have been urging it to make a decision on this subject for years past, and their appeals for a definite declaration of the community's India nationally have been greatly strengthened by what has happened since the passing of the Reforms. There really is no alternative. Anglo Indians have either to declare themselves Indian citizens and claim all the rights and privileges which the Reforms confer on such citizens, or they have to be prepared for the gradual but ruthless extermination of their community.

By proclaiming their citizenship of India and so organising their resources that they may be able to

take full advantage of all the benefits which the Reforms confer on the citizens of India, the community will not only be able to preserve its identity, but will be able to ensure their play for its members, and lay the foundation for future prosperity.

The community possess as many advantages. The general level of literacy among its members is higher than in any other community in India. It may not possess as many leading lights as the Brahmin community, but in view of its small numbers it does possess a goodly number of prosperous members. Its standard of intelligence is high, and, given opportunities for education, its young men and young women should do well in the various walks of life open to youth in this country. For poverty is its greatest drawback. This can be only be over come by the aid of Government and a readiness on the part of the community to take every advantage of scholar ships and other educational or similar opportunities open to Indian citizens. As Mr.Ranga chariar rightly pointed out, Anglo-Indians have little to fear from Indianisation if Indianisation be fairly worked It should be the duty of the community's leaders to see that it is fairly worked, but the leaders can only do this if they are strongly supported by the organised force of a united community. In the past Anglo-Indians have shown a tendency to sit on the fence between British and Indian citizenship and claim the privileges accuring to both The result is that there is a tendency on the part of other communities in India to look askance at them. If things continue as they are now going it will be a distinct disadvantage to be a British subject. On the ground that India is the land of their birth they should decide for Indian citizenship.

Exposed.   1 - 11 - 1923.

Gradually the truth about the so called unity of the Muslims and Hindus in the Extremist Congress, which pretends to be Nationalist in Character, is coming out. The subterfuges adopted to secure the appearance of unity at Delhi recently are now being revealed, and India is being shown how the congress which prates so much about independence is, in fact, the feeble tool of religious autocracies. Swami Shradhananda, a leading figure in the Maha Sabha Sangathans which have aroused the anxiety and hostility of the Muslims, has written an article in which he advocates a complete severance of the congress connection with the Khilafat committee and the Jamiat ul-ulema on the ground that the latter exerts an undue, a commanding influence in the decisions of the congress. He tells us that during the Delhi session of the Extremist congress, Muslim members of the Hindu Muslim sub committee always consulted the ulema before participating in the deliberations of the committee and adds that the Hindu Members suppressed their feelings in defenence to the ulema. In other words, we are now told that the much-trumpeted compromise was no compromise at all, but a complete victory for one party in the congress, the Muslims, who in turn are subordinate to the Jamiat ul-ulema. But this is not all. The swami alleges that it is intended to use the Khilafat committee for the purpose of carrying on Muslim proselytising work among Hindus. "Congress", he continues," is in the hands of a few Hindu Muslim leaders, of whom the Hindus spend all their time in catering for the wishes of their Muslim colleagues who, in their turn, are in the hands of the ulena".

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We are not concerned with these interveiw disputes in the Extremist congress save in so far as they reveal the hollow sham which the compromise resolution, so widely published as a triumph of states manship, really is we are, however, equally with every loyal and lawabiding citizen, gravely concerned at the tone of this publication and the very obvious attempt which Swami Shradhanander is making to stir up strong Hindu feelings and unite Hindus against Muslims. There is no use in blinking the fact that in Delhi, at the present movement, there is proceeding a campaign which promises the most serious results for India. Already the tension between Hindus and Muslims in Delhi is so grave as to make further disorders almost inevitable; In Bombay recently, Mohomed Ali, formerly an Extremist firebrand of the most virulent type, confessed that in the monty the situation was most serious. He, very naturally since he is a Muslim, stressed the provacative character of the Hindu shuddis, and his appeal for a letter understanding was addressed mainly to Hindus. Swami Shradharander on the other hard, blames the Muslims.

What is the lesson which these disclosures teach peace ~~luring~~ loving Indians? Is it not that he who daubles in Extremism must be prepared to suffer Extremely. For many Months past, for years, there has been a deliberate campaign in India against all constitutional authority. Newspapers, periodicals, and political agitators have been waging a great war on civil discipline. No name was too bad for the constitutional authorities, no abuse too foul, no lie too black to amplay against those who worked for the progress of the country on constitutional lines or for those who sogght

to administer the country to the best advantage of the people. To day, the same subversive campaign continues, but even those who begin and led it are begining to be appalled at the results of their activities. They have, as we pointed out many months ago, created a Frankenstive monster which threatens to destroy ~~plade~~ Peace and security throughout India. Even Mohemed Ali is constrained to admit that all the talk about immediate self-government and in dependence is bluster. "To ask for independence, he says" is to cover our shame with bluster". Yet a few months ago he was himself proclaiming for that self same independence. Today he sees the fruit of his and his colleagues work and is afraid. And he is not alone. Swami Shradhananda, who speaks for many Hindus, is also afraid. And, if the truth be known, so are most of these Extremist leaders who but a short while ago were shouting.... "Down with the British Raj". Recent disorders, as a Delhi message today reminds us, have undoubtedly driven home to the Extremists the need for British protection and impartiality, and has lessened will talk about independence, Yet in Madras where communal difference thanks to the good sense of the bulk of the peopbe, have not yet, led to bitter animosity and disorders, we find the gospel of hatred and boycott and disobedience taught -- as widely as ever. Will nothing, same war in their midsts, show these foolish people, who play so lightly with the fire of rebellion the dangers they are provoking.

Indians in the Empire. 3 - 11 - 1923.

A goodly portion of our space today is taken up by reports of the speeches delivered on behalfs of India at the Imperial Conference. These will, we trust, be read and thoughtfully considered by all our readers. They come like a strong breeze blowing away the smoke of misrepresentation and of unlevolent report which has lately obscured the attitude of the Secretary of State for India and of the government of India on the subject of Indians in other parts of the Empire. No more eloquent pleeding on behalf of India has ever been heard than is contained on the speech of wiscount perl, no more definite stand on behalf of India's claims would have been made than is contained in the Government of India's message to Sri Taj Bahadur Supru which he read to the conference, of Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru's speech it is impossible to speak too highly. No aspect of the problem escaped his notice. He was blunt and direct. He did not mince his words in order to spare feelings. In this debate, so far as the speeches yet received disclose, we have that desirable frankness for which we hoped. Such plain speaking will do good. The case for India, is no longer obscured. Her sentiment is make known, and the prospects of a happly solution of an admittedly complex problem are as a result greatly improved.

But there is one significant prase in the speech of Viscount Peel to which we would draw special attention He said: "So long as Indians in the Dominions may be regarded as a foreign body in the great body politic of those Dominions, so long is the Government of India bound to take an interest in their fate and assure

themselves as regards the manner in which they are treated. But once they are absorbed, they cease to be a foreign body, once they are absorbed into the Great corporation, as it were, of the Dominions, then the interest of the Indian Government, of course, will cease, and there is nothing that anybody connected with it, ~~there is nothing that any body connected with it~~, there is nothing the Secretary of state disliked more than interfering or appearing to interefere with the domestic affairs of the great dominions". That is a most important statement. Once Indians in the Dominions receive the status of citizens in those Dominions their fellows in India will cease to have the right to remonstrate, or to interfere on their behalf. To all interests and purposes they become Australians, Cannadian, New Zealanders, etc. In a sense, it will be wrong even or Sir Taj Bahadur Sapru to refer to them, as he refers to Indians in New Zealand, as his fellow country men. They will, to all intents and purposes, become naturalised in the country of their domicile, and the general understanding between nations is that incases not expressly provided for by treaty, no state shall protect those whom it claims as its nationalists while residing in the territory of another state which claims them as its own nationals ~~as~~ by another title.

We may be wrong, but it seems to us, juding by the wonding of Viscount Peel's reference, that Indians receiving the rights of citizenship in the Dominions surrender all claim on India, so long as they are domiciled in the Dominions and, at the same time, once those rights have been granted, Indians in India will have no lawful ground for concerning themselves with Indians in those parts of the Empire. It is an interesting point.

However, since citizenship is the desire of all free men, we do not think that the prospect of the loss of this legal right will lesson the agitation in India for citizenship for Indians domiciled in other parts of the Empire. There is this to be remembered, however, that citizenship in one Dominion will not necessarily confer the same status in another. There is no such thing as Empire citizenship, since the existence of such would conflict with that right which India, in common with the other Dominions at the Imperial conferences of 1917 and 1921 recognised, namely that each community of the British common wealth should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of the restriction of immigration from other communities".

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Simply Insoluble-   9 - 11 - 1923.

When two such opponents as General Smuts and the Right Hon'ble V.S.Srinivasa Sastri conclude that the problem of Indians in South Africa, at the present moment, simply insobble, we have reached at least one common ground from which the question may be viewed, General Smutts in his speeches at the Imperial Conference did not defend the attitude of South Africa towards Indians. He merely stated the facts and declared" We are up against a stonewall". Call that stone wall what one will, declare it to be colour prejudice, racial hostility, or, as we prefer to name it, jealousy of economic and social standards and fear that they will be lowered, the fact remains, in all discussions on the question of Indians in South Africa a point is arrived at where argument can go no further-the stone wall has been reached: on the grounds of lofty principle, on the ground of the very sound democratic principle, "No taxation without representation," on religious and humanitarian grounds, there may be no defence of South Africa's attitude. But the fact remains, argue as one may, South Africa sticks to her policy. Abuse will not cause her to change it. Threats will only make her cling the more closely to it.

And who can carry out the threats? No Briton, whether he live in the Mother Country or in the Dominions would, in this age, fight to compel South Africa to give Indians the privileges of the franchise. In the first place, as we have pointed out before, the argument of South Africa that their standars would be imperilled by granting civic equality to Indians would make a fear

stronger appeal to the average dweller of the Dominions than would the more altruistic appeal of Indians on democratic principles. And there is this to be remembered. ~~The average is this to be remembered.~~ The average white man in South Africa lives in daily terror of unemployment. We in India find it difficult to understand this terror. Here, the problem scarcly exists, and the unemployed thanks to kindly Nature and a different general attitude towards begging, which makes it possible for the unemployed to beg unashamed, can nearly always secure enough to eat and drink.........We do not attach any undue importance to the revelations made by Mr.Srinivasa Sastri of the proposals to regard him an inferior to Sir Benjamin Robertson..... If South Africa cannot see an equal in an Indian, then the South African Government dare not treat him, as we are glad that Mr.Sastri did not visit South Africa as an inferior and rejoice with him at the apparent change of heart which the invitation of the Maharajah, of Alwar represents. How can Indi destroy the stonewall in South Africa. Boycott will not accomplish it. Force ful, aimed at undermining the stonewall by removing the fears of the South Africans is the only apparent solution to the difficulty. More of the spirit of good will and understanding is needed.

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Stranger than Fiction. 26 - 11 - 1923.

India's sob-orators sometimes forget to follow up their tearful appeals by a judicious slaughter of contredictory evidence. One glaring instance of such negligence has come to our notice today. On September 15 last, Mahomed Ali, one of the most eloquent of the Extremist suborators pleading for the acceptance by the Extremist congress of the famous compromise resolution whereby the congress climbed down with more haste than dignity from its former position of hostility to the Reformed councils, said:-- By some soul force which shall ramain nameless, or by some mysterious wireless, Mahatma Gandhi communicated the following command: "I do not want you to stick to my programme, I am for the entire programme, but if looking at the state of the country you think that one or two items of the boycott programme should be discarded or modified or added to them in the name of love of country, I command you to give at those parts of my programme or alter them accordingly".

This miracolours communication made a wonderful impression on the audience. They were convinced that they were recepients of a message conveyed by super human means. The sob orator achieved his end. But he forgot to let Mr.Gandhi know what he has done. Now comes the second. A political prisoner, who served six months of his time with Mr.Gandhi in Yervada jail, to the gates of which now famous residence Mr.Mahomed Ali lately made a spectacular pilgramage interviewed by Mrs Gandhi said:. "When Mr.Gandhi knew that that resolution (the compromise resolution) was moved by Mr.Mahomed Ali he was at first struck with wonder but afterwards said that a situation must have arisen to warrant such an action on

the part of Mr.Mohomed Ali".

That is the truth. How much stranger than the fiction it really is, but how much less picturesque. Gone is the picture which Mr.Mohomed Ali had conjured up of two souls turning in adjusting wireless wave-lengths, and fixing their headphones. And all this sweet illusion is destroyed because Mr.Mohomed Ali forgot to let Mr.Gandhi know what he had said. Another pilgrimage to the gates of Yernada Jail will now be necessary, a pilgramage of permitance and expiation. But what will Mr.Mohamed Ali, tell his dupes, and what a splendid opportunity for Swami Shahananda.

The Two edged Sword. 28 - 11 - 1923.

At last Extremist politicians in India have awakened to the fact that propaganda of racial of communal hatred, so prominent a feature of their public activities, is a two edged sword. After using the Press for many years to preach the pernicious gospel of race hatred and to spread the poison of intolerance among all whom they could reach, they find that the weapons they employed against others are doing more harm to themselves than to those against whom they were directed. Hence they appeal to Indian newspapers to exercise restraint when dealing with matters likely to affect inter communal relations, which have lately become strained. They appeal, in fact, to Justice" to lie down in peace with Swarajya. Their appeal comes too late. The doctrines of hatred which the congress has been preaching for years past have become too deep rooted to be pulled up in a day. The Extremists will have to reap the harvest which they sowed with so little regard to the best interests of the nation. For Indian newspapers which line on fostering race and communal hatred are not likely to commit suicide in order that peace and good Government may be established in the land. Nor does the Extremist congress really want them to do so. Their appeal is only another attempt on their part to boester up a dying party. They do not want the Indian newspapers to abandon their campaign of hatred against the white races, and against loyalist Indians. All they want them to do is to refrain from publishing details of the very obvious differences between Muslim and Hindu adherents to their party. The Extremist congress committee may well weep at the harvest they are now reaping as the result of their efforts to destroy popular respect for lawful authority.

The Verdict. 29 - 11 - 1923.

"What I desire is that this motion should be judged by the votes of the elected members". Thus spoke Mr.C.Ramalinga Reddi in his reply to the debate on his "no confidence in the Ministry" motion. Judged by this standard the motion was defeated, and the elected members of the council, by a majority of one, declared their confidence in the present Ministery. This small majority was strengthened by the votes of thirteen nominated members and eight official members, making in all a majority of twenty two against the motion, a majority big enough to prove that the council as a whole is strongly in support of the Ministry.

The discussion of the motion was most interesting and produced some of the best speeches we have yet have in the council. The presence of a large and strong opposition should greatly add to the interest and importance of the proceedings and stimulate the sense of responsibility in the Members. It will also mean a considerable amount of work for Party whips, for the Minis erial majority is not sufficiently large to remove all danger of defeat in future divisions should the Ministers' supporters fail to attend ~~or pain~~. Much has been said during the past two days of the disjointed nature of the opposition, much stress having been laid on the fact that it is not composed of a single coherience Party. But that is not a feature peculiar to the Opposition in the local council. It is, in fact, common to the majority of the elected legislative bodies in the world. In most European countries both Government and opposition on made up of numerous Parties, and the difficulties ~~Germany is experiencing in finding a Government at~~

Germany is experiencing in finding a Government at the present moment are wholly due to the fact that no single party in the Reichstay is strong enough to form a Government now, for that matter, can one be formed even by a combination of any two Parties. The opposition in the Madras Legislative Council will be strengthened rather than weakened by its composite nature, which suggests a multiple of keen intellects all waiting to take advantage of any sign of weakness in the Ministery. A strong opposition, too, is an advantage to a Ministry. It puts Ministers and their supporters on their mettle and destroyes that lethargy and apathy which in the past has been so fatal to public interest and national progress.

We deplore the attempts made during the past two days to portray Mr.Ramalinga Reddi's motion as a vote of censure of the Governor. They were in bad taste and showed hard judgement. For in sending for the Rajah of Panagal to form a Ministry, His Excellency was following strictly constitutional practice. So far as was known, the "Justice" Party possessed a majority in the council-yesterday's vote proved that it lies - and Lord Willingdon rightly called on that party to form a Ministry. To pretend that any criticism of that Ministry, any censure of that Ministry, or any expression of lack of confidence in that Ministry must necessarily be a vote against the Governor is to stretch the identity of the Ministry and the Governor ~~isxtoxsix~~ beyond all legitimate lengths and to destroy the very basis of the Reforms as applied to the Transfered subjects, namely the responsibility of the Ministers to the people for the subjects they administer.

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Another point which needs strassing is the position of leaders of Parties in the Council. On Tuesday, the Justice" Party leader, Sri P.T.Chetty, gave expression to our opinion regarding political prisoners. On being challenged, Ministers declared that Sir P.T.Chetty was voicing his own opinion and not that of his Party. This, we contend, is quite contrary to Parlia-mentary procedure. If Sir P.T. Chetty's remarks in the council chamber are not to be interpreted as the opinions of his Party, he should either refrain from making them or should preface them with a conditional clause such as "speaking for myself and not for my Party". The reforms have imposed a Great responsibi-lity on Party leaders. They should choose their words wisely. And the existence of a strong opposition in the Council makes it all the more incumbent upon them to think twice before they speak. Lord Willingdon, speaking at the Cornopolitan club yesterday evening said: "Though sometimes apt to be indiscret, Sir Theagaraya chetty Was a good fighter, and after all it was also good sometimes to be indiscrect". But it does not pay to be indiscrect in the Council chamber, it gives the opposition an opportunity to attack and misleads the public as to a Party's policy. We are glad that the debate ended as it did, and that Madras is not to be subjected to a trying period of unstable Ministries what is needed in the council chamber is a live Ministry with avide awake opposition, and judging by present indications Madras has now got both.

On whom the Blame. 12 - 12 - 1923.

In his speech at the unvealing of the statue of Mr.Edward Montagu, former Secretary of State for India and part framer of the Reforms Act of 1910,(2) the viceroy made it quite clear that if India's progress towards self government is delayed, the British people will not be to blame. The King Emperor has given his word, the word of great Britain, that no obstacle will be placed in the way of India's progress towards complete self government and the people of Great Britain canvene break that promise. "I am only here to express the fervent, the earnest hope that nothing that may heppen in the immediate or in the more remote future may endanger the success of the reforms we are now administering, he is expressing a hope not that the people and Parliament of Great Britain will keep their promise, but that the people of India will not do any thing to delay the progress of their country or mar the prospects of success. It is a warning which needs specially to be heeded. The growth of inter-communal hostility or inter communal distrust has of late been one of the most disturbing elements in the life of India. There are those in the North who taunt us in the South with indifference to this question, as though a Province which has so recently passed through the Experience that Madras endured in 1921 can possibly forget the dangers and the evils which result from unchecked communal strife. South India does not ignore those dangers, and it is to her credit that her people have of late so restrained their passions as to keep her free from the horrors that have marked Nagpur and other Northern India cities. But if the insistence on community in all things of public concern, even in such matters as the bestowal of

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of public office, which has of late been anaggranated featnre of public life in South India, continue, then here, too, the seeds of communal strife will be sown and the way prepared for that something which may endanger the succcss of the Reforms to which the Viceroy so solemnly referred on Indians, and above all on the growth of the wider spirit of nationality, as distinct from community, away Indians, depends the success of the R forms and the measure of India's progress towards complete dominion status.

<u>Mr.Das Refuses.</u> 18 - 12 - 1923.

Mr.C.R.Das. leader of the Swarajist Party, the dominant Party in the Bengal Legislative council, has refused to accept office, And yet his party declares its intention of rejecting all Government measures until at least Provincial autonomy is granted. It is a curious attitude, and one which suggests that the Swarajists fear responsibility. The affair has ended in a distinct triumph for Lord Lytton. His action is offering the Swarajists the Ministry, a perfectly constitutional one, has been adversely criticised in some quarters, but he saw farther and has a better understanding of the psycology of the Swarajists than his critics. Mr.Das and his Party have suffered a tactical defeat, they have preferred to dis franchise their constituencies wishes. Their threatened rejection of Government measure may, therefore, justly be criticised as a cowardly attack on men who shouldered a responsibility which the Swarajists refused to bear. We have sufficient faith in commonsense of the mass of Indian voters to believe that the Swarajists' refusal in Bengal will, in the long run, discredit them among their elsctorates.

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The National Pact. 24 - 12 - 192?

We publish today the text of the socal Indian National (Pact) (?) congress, framed by certain membe the Extremist Party and published to the world as considered views of leaders of Indian opinion. H illfounded this latter description is may be seen fact that today's telegrams also bring us news of of the Hindus, presided over by the Maharajah of which passed a resolution protesting against the pa a similar one adopted in Bengal, and at which a sp declared that the pact struck at the very foundatio nation building and expressed his inability to unde why the Swarajist should interfere with religions fee Had he thought a little longer on the question his perplaxity would have vanished as he realised that th pact is borne of mutual fears. The Hindu Extremists f that unless they make considerable concessions to the Muslim Extremists the latter will break away from their party and the United front, to preserve which the Extre would be willing to sacrifice all the interests of the people, would be broken. The Muslim Extremists fear tha the more numerous, if less bellicose Hindu, will by spea weight of numbers ride roughstod over them in the Party a eventually in the councils of the country, unless they compel them now to make considerable concessiouns. Thus we find in the pact promision for communal representat measures to govern religious proceedings, an attempt to force one language on all the nation, relegating the vernaculars of each Province to a secondary place, and interfering generally with the liberty of the individua Perhaps, however, the most arrogant feature about the pact is its reference to the incorporation of India in Federation of Eastern countries. We know whence thi

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proposal come. The Bolshemiks have long toyed with the idea and endeavoured to boast it, classing themselves as one of the greatest of the Eastern countries. Dr. Sunpet Sen, now a tool of the Bolshemiks and the tyrant of Canton, has also preached it, but nather his nor the Bolshemiks' arguments have never contained any hint that such a Federation would be for the good of India. But, now that India Extremists have blessed it, perhaps we shall be told more about its particular appeal to India. And, too, perhaps we shall also be told what particular relation the Federation of Eastern countries will have to the Federation of ~~Islamic countries~~ Islamis countries, regarding India's inclusion in which there have been rumours in Extremists quarters from time to time. Perhaps Dr. Ansari will explain.

A Spluttering Firebrand. 28 - 12 - 1923.

This year's congress firebrand took a long time to get well alight. In a speech which extends over 134 pages, he spent 67 in painstakingly assuring Hindus and other communities that the Muslims are xxxxxxxx really a very fine lot and are in the congress not for their own good but for the good of xxxxx. others. Then, probably, because be thought that by this time his audience would either be in tears or asleep, he spluttered out the fiery declaration that the only alternative to non-violent non-co-operation is war. But it was only a splutter. The flame elied down immediately. He did not call out the congressmen and those who think like them to fight. He told them that war is impossible not because- artful flattur that he is - the Extremists lack bravery, but because the bulk of those who try to discredit our (the Extremists) policy........are unwilling to make any sacrifice, and would not dream of adopting that terrible alternative". It does not require a great deal of imagination to hear the sigh of relief that passed through the portly frames of Extremist delegates on the smile of self satisfaction with which they listened to Mahomed Ali's delightful excuse for the comfrotable causses they xxxxxxx low so well. "We would die willingly", we can hear them saying to themselves. If only those Moderates and Loyalists and consitutionalists would set an example. But since they won't how can we?".

Of course, one might rightly ask why, if he knows war to be impossible. Mr.Mahomed Ali should have mentioned it. The answer is plain. Mr.Ali has a reputation to maintain, and if after 67 pages he had not produced anything melodramatic in character that reputation

would have been lost for ever. And this explanation, too, makes clear the appearance on the 133rd page of his oration of yet another reference to dying. This verhose demagogue has disconered that dying is the panacea for all ills, and he is probably right. If the congress working committee, and the All India congress committee took his advice and died within a year, India would doubt less be better off and certainly the dead committee man themselves would not be much concerned whether Mahomed Ali kept his word and gave them his particular brand of Swaraj within a year or not. But they wont adopt his suggestion Vicarious sacrifice is not popular in Extremist circles. Why even when Extremists are sent to jail and thus saved the trouble of earning their own living and cease to be a burden on Congress funds, their fellow extremists more heaven and Earth to secure for them as comfortable a time as possible, the daily variation of their weight is noted, and the Government arranged should it grow loss. It is because of this unwillingness to sacrifice self in the longer interest of Muslims, so much defence of communal representation, so many tears for the failureof Extremist leaders to hold the balance even between communal claims, so many wild appeals for Hindu Muslim Unity. The Extremists have failed. This long speech is one great confession of failure, like the speech of the President of the Reception committee which preceded it. The Extremists have failed because their policy is based on hatred and hatred is the worst of all foundations for a political programme. It cannot be confined. Its ugly influence spreads throughout all public activity. And until the congress creed is changed and good will towards all men, white or Brown or black, be made its fundamental, the Extremists will fail. Mohomed Ali has no delusions

regarding the importance of the Swarajists' success in that recent elections. He does not think that they portray the opinion of the people, as some swarajists' wo ld have as believe. He holds, with us, that the franchise is too narrow to make the results representative of the people's mind. But unlike ourselves, he makes no plea for the broadening, of the franchise. That would be fatal to his plans.

The congress party has failed. And Mohamed Ali, when he talks about unfurling the flag of what he calls the Indian republic India's Independent Federation of Faiths, and speaks of breaking the link that joins him to Great Britain, knows that he will not be called on to keep his word. He is playing to the gallery, for he is well aware that his precedent condition will never be fulfilled that the Extremist programme is impracticable, unfulfillable because it must arose the very passions which make the fulfilment of its more worthy items impossible. If Mahomed Ali and his like really want swaraj let them drop their propaganda of race hatred and in their so called brotherhood include all men. And, too is there not a significant connexion between this little 'Independent Federation of Faiths' and the suggestion that for proselytising purposes India should be divided into Zones, each religion being given its own particular area in which none other many work) Are such methods conducive to peace and free choice? And what is to prevent the more militant religion claiming the largest Zone? Is it surprising that there is alarm not only among religious communities but also among all lovers of liberty at the menace to their freedom which the Extremist Party represents?

And is it remarkable that the congress president should admit that his party has failed because of internal dissension? No. The wild spluttering of the congress firebrand contain many warnings for India, warnings that cannot and, we are sure, will not be disregarded.

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Diarchy. 31 - 12 - 1923.

"Diarchy must go is the theme of a speech delivered by Sir P.Rajagopalachariar recently, and his reasons are, apparently, that the difficulties of the system are so great that no Ministry can work it. His alternative is full provincial responsibility. It may be taken for granted that he will take his conviction to the India council and will prove there a powerful pleader for the grant of the reforms he feels to be indispensible. But has he weighed at the pros and cons of his proposals. His plea for Provincial autonomy is one that will find wide support. We ourselves would welcome it very strongly in the Department of Finance. It is doubtful, however, whether Madras is yet prepared for full Provincial responsibility. Her politics and her public life are too much ~~punctured~~ Permeated by the evil of communalism to make it possible to say decisively that Madras is fit for full self-government. Patronage is much too XXX securely enthroned/ in the narrow regions in which it has been possible for it to secure a footing to make us desire to open new regions to its evil dounmance. It is apity that Madras, once politically the foremost Province to which the grant of autonomy would be unwise, and get a far consideration of all that has taken place during the past few years, and of the unseamly scramble for office and jobs which has XXX subblied all public life in the Presidency, impeded the proper working of local self-governing bodies, and undermind discipline in the Public services

~~bodies, and undermind discipline in the public services~~ compels a recognition of the fact that, as a result of fierce communal strife, Madras, politically, and we are almost tempted to say ~~xxxx~~ ethically too, has sadly retrogressed.

MONDAY

1241 Monday

31 - 12 - 1923.

A fatal disturbance occured in Calcutta on Sunday as a result of the desecration of a mosque a Hindu was killed and six others seriously injured. Speaking at Cocanada; Shaikab Ali said that when he went to Muslims they told him that every trouble in the country was due to Hindus, "let us cut off their heads". Wyen he went to Hindus they said the Muslims are getting out of hand. "We must kill all the Mohomedans". What do these things signify; whence springs the passions that give them birth? The reply is simple. The revival of dissension between Hindus and Muslims is mainly due to the provocation speeches of the Extremists, and especially of the Exremist leaders, among whom the worst offenders are Mahomed Ali and shawkat Ali. In one of his interpolations into his written speech, Mohomed Ali told a story, told him like the celebrated story of the policeman in Downing Street, by another, in which is glorified the action of a lawless Akali in holding up a police office at the nuzzle of a six chambered revolver. This story was, we are told by the Associated Press, greeted with laughter in the congress Pandal. A grandy lawless action, is greeted with grims in what professes to be the "National congress. Could there be any further evidence of the contempt for law, and order which the Extremist propaganda instils into those who listen to it? It is not the silly laughter of a foolish crowed which demands our attention, but the growing spirit of civic indiscipline which it betrays. It is to this that we owe the growing friction between Muslims and Hindus, it is because of this that the Hindu was killed in the Calcutta riot.

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Did the "National" volunteers interfere to stop the rioting in Calcutta? No. This body of guardians" of the place between Hindus and Muslims was conspiciously in active. The police, members of that body to which belonged the officer intimidated by the Akali at whose action the "National" congress laughed, were compelled to intervene. They removed the injured to the hospital and they subscopently preserved place in the disturbed area. And it is left to an officer of that Government which the Extremists never miss an opportunity to revile to take steps, to discover the perpetrators of both the desecration and the murder. And if peace and order is to be preserved in India and crime punished, it will be the police and the Government, through its officers, who will be compelled to do these things. The Extremists can not. They dare not. if they were to begin to demand the punishment of their own guilty followers and of those made blind to all the laws of civic association by the subversive out pourings of Extremists agitations and agents prevocatures', their party would break into pieces. The only present the between its dissenting elements is hatred of those forces which restrain their greed and cruelty, and compel them, against their will, to respect the rights, the privileges, the person, and the property of their fellows. (2)

Mohomed Ali and shakket Ali, have lately talked much of dying and readiness to die. But they talk with their tongues in their check. It is not they or their ~~fo-~~ followers who are to die, but, as we pointed out on saturday, the poor inoffensive citizen whose only desire is to ~~xxxx~~ live in peace in the enjoyment of his civic rights. Little

hw 7/8

did we think on Saturday that our words would so quickly and so tragically be proved xxx true. At Cocanada, the seed of lawlessness and disrespect for law and order is being sown broadcast, Yet there are signs that some at least of the Extremists are begining to dread the fruit. They are seeking to bind their party and its adherents to peaceful courses by framing a pact. They are failing, because they very essence of their Party's creed is the anuihilation of all pacts, the denial of all obligations, the disobedience of all laws, and the disregard of all principles. Mahomed Ali does not want a pact, nor does Shaukat Ali and the numonous other Extremist firebrands. They want to be free to inflame the minds of their hearness according to the latter's faiths. To remove religion beyond the sphere of politics would be fatal to their supremacy, they would be compelled to keep their pledges, and what is more difficult to them, to justify their pledges to their coreligionists. Therefore, it is not to the Extremists, and still less to such leaders as the Ali Brothers, that we must look for those who will counter stife in India, but to those who believe that the only true way to progress is by strictly constitutional means and who respect the rights of their fellows. To this mass of Indians - for they constitute the bulk of the people - we appeal for a great counter camapgin against Extremist folly so that civic discipline may be restablished, respect for law and order maintained, and the liberty of the subject quaranteed. For we are convinced that unless some such movement be started, unless the now apathetic Indian asserts himself, India will be increasingly handed over to forces of disorder, and the incident in

in Calcutta multiplied a hundred fold. The Government above can do nothing Public opinion, as expressed in the Persistent action of all lavers of law and order in defence of peaple and security, is the only antidate for Extremist submersiveness.

382/R1/85
17 5/2013/R1/RH
553/R1/85
1229/R1/85
118R/86
25/R1/87
107/87
14/12/88/R+H
4/5/89
23/6/89
2030/RH/90
6204/RH/90
284/RH/05